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JUAN EUGENIO HARTZENBUSCH AND THE FRENCH THEATRE

ANTHONY SYLVAIN CORBIÈRE

A THESIS

IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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FOREWORD

The writer's debts are many; his heartiest thanks are especially due to Prof. J. P. W. Crawford, for the suggestion of the subject and for much valuable advice and assistance in the arrangement of the material, and to Señor Don Francisco Rodríguez Marín, eminent scholar and Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, at Madrid, to whom I am indebted for copies of the manuscripts of Hartzenbusch's unpublished plays in his custody. Thanks are also due to Señor Don Javier Lasso de la Vega of the Biblioteca Nacional and to Señor Don Manuel Machado of the Madrid Biblioteca Municipal, for much generous assistance and information; to Prof. Albert F. Hurlburt, Prof. Miguel Romera-Navarro, Prof. Edwin B. Williams and Prof. John D. M. Brown (Muhlenberg College), for many useful suggestions.

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A. S. C.

DEDICATED
TO MY WIFE

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CHAPTER I

The Life of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch[1]

Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch was born at Madrid on September 6, 1806. His father, Santiago Hartzenbusch, a native of a small village near Cologne, had emigrated to Madrid at the age of nineteen, and became a cabinet-maker like his elder brother, Juan, who had already established himself there. In Madrid he married María Josefa Martínez Calleja, a young woman of Valparaiso, a small town near Huete, in New Castile. From this union was born, in addition to our poet, another son, Santiago, two years Juan Eugenio's junior.

When Juan Eugenio was only two years old, his mother died. Possibly he inherited the qualities that friends ascribe to her and which characterized Hartzenbusch even from early childhood: a delicate sensibility, modesty and timidity. At all events, deprived of a mother's affection, the boy was entirely dependent for companionship upon his brother and his father, the latter a grave sort of man, with a dislike for social intercourse. He wished Juan Eugenio to study for the priesthood, but the boy preferred painting, and in order to lay a foundation of cultural studies, attended the Colegio de San Isidro el Real at Madrid from 1818 to 1822.

But in that year his education was interrupted. His father's ill health required his assistance in the workshop and he set to work to learn the trade of cabinet-maker. To make matters worse, the elder Hartzenbusch, a Liberal in politics, lost all his property as a consequence of the Revolution of 1823, his mind became seriously impaired, and young Hartzenbusch was obliged to work in the shops of other cabinet-makers to earn his own livelihood and to support his father, who died in 1830.[2]

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[1] The chief sources of this chapter are contained in the Bibliography, p. 91; references to them will be made when necessary. Other references to this chapter, as well as to Chapters II and III, will be found in the footnotes.

[2] Biography of Hartzenbusch, *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, Barcelona, 1910. The other biographers do not mention definitely the year of the elder Hartzenbusch's death.

As a youth, Hartzenbusch had neither time nor money to spend upon the theatre, but his interest in the drama was awakened by a performance of one of Rossini's operas at the Teatro del Príncipe in December, 1821. This performance seems to have determined his choice of a career. He was too poor to frequent the theatre, but he bought and eagerly read as many Spanish and French plays as his slender resources and his little leisure time permitted.

In beginning work as a dramatist, Hartzenbusch followed the line of least resistance, namely, the adaptation of French plays for the Spanish stage. Probably we do not know even the name of his first production of this character.[3] It is likely that he did not have a hand in "El español y la francesa" (1823) which is ascribed to him by his son.[4] The first play that we can with certainty attribute to him is "La escuela de los padres," an adaptation of Alexis Piron's "L'École des pères" which was privately performed on February 18, 1827, and probably never reached the public stage.

Our author's dramatic activity extended to 1862, the year his recast of Lope de Vega's "El perro del hortelano" was performed. There were very few dramatists of note when he began to write. The double political and ecclesiastical censorship of Ferdinand VII's reign was prejudicial to the development of the drama which lacked orientation of a national character since the end of the seventeenth century. The King's repressive acts of 1814 and 1823 had forced young Liberal writers to emigrate to foreign lands. The Duque de Rivas, who from 1814 to 1822 had given much promise as a writer of tragedies, was in exile in the island of Malta. The best writers of comedies, Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza, Martínez de la Rosa and Bretón de los Herreros, still followed in the classical tradition of Moratín who had written his last original comedy in 1805. Gorostiza, the author of "Indulgencia para todos" (1818), and Martínez de la Rosa, were both in exile; the latter's comedies and tragedies

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[3] Fernando Antonio del Pozo y Paluchi (see Bibliography) states that Hartzenbusch began to read and translate French comedies in 1826.

[4] Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *Bibliografía de Hartzenbusch formada por su hijo*, Madrid, 1900, p. 15. See Chapter II, pp. 71–72.

would perhaps be forgotten today were it not for the historical significance of his "Conjuración de Venecia" (1834) which introduced Romanticism in Spain.

Bretón's first comedy, "A la vejez viruelas," was represented with success in 1824. Before 1827 he wrote three original comedies, three recasts of plays of the Golden Age and eight adaptations from the French, all of which had been represented, except "Mitrídates," a translation of Racine's tragedy, which was performed in 1830. During his years as a playwright, he composed 177 plays, which include 62 adaptations from the French and ten recasts of Spanish plays.

It is a well-known fact that translations from the French were welcomed by managers and audiences alike, in the early part of the century. Plays, good and bad, crossed the Pyrenees and were adapted by nearly all the dramatists of the time. Besides, in view of the meagre financial rewards for playwriting, it was inevitable that writers and producers should look abroad for material, and an abundant store lay near at hand across the frontier. At first, classical comedies and tragedies, and plays representing the various movements of the eighteenth century, flowed to the theatres of the Spanish capital; later, the melodramas of Ducange and Bouchardy, among others, and the comedies of Picard and Scribe. The latter was by far the most popular, and translations of his plays continued to appear several years after his death, which occurred in 1861. Translations of plays of Shakespeare, Schiller, Lessing, Kotzebue and Alfieri also were common, as well as many adaptations of the seventeenth century Spanish 'comedia'. Some, like Dionisio Solís (1774–1834), dedicated themselves almost entirely to translation and adaptation.

Ventura de la Vega, who began his literary career before 1827, outdid all his contemporaries as a translator, in quantity, and perhaps also in the quality of his work. He translated about seventy plays before he produced "El hombre de mundo" (1845), his first composition which is entirely original; he continued to translate until about 1860. Among other dramatists who began their literary careers before Ferdinand VII's death, in 1833, are Mariano José de Larra, better known as the most

eminent prosewriter of the romantic period, Antonio García Gutiérrez and Antonio Gil y Zárate. The last two were practically unknown before the appearance of their romantic dramas.

Because of the liberal ideas of the French Romanticists and their lack of respect for Royalty, the reading, as well as the representation, of French romantic dramas was prohibited in Spain until 1833. But the few ideas of Victor Hugo and the elder Dumas, which crept little by little across the frontier, had begun to impose the formulas and doctrines of French Romanticism which was definitely introduced in Spain when the young Liberals, who had lived in Paris and came under the direct influence of the new school, returned from exile. One of these was Martínez de la Rosa whose "Conjuración de Venecia," first represented on April 22, 1834, was the first drama with romantic tendencies performed in Spain. This was followed on September 24th by Larra's "Macías," a drama with more definite romantic tendencies, and on October 3d, by "Elena," Bretón's only romantic drama. More revolutionary than the above plays, the Duque de Rivas's "Don Álvaro, o la fuerza del sino," March 3d, 1835, is the most complete representative of Romanticism in the dramatic literature of Spain. After "Don Álvaro," the most characteristic romantic dramas are García Gutiérrez's "El Trovador," first represented on March 1st, 1836, and Hartzenbusch's "Los amantes de Teruel," January 19th, 1837; these are considered the two best dramas of the whole period.

The other important dramatists of the Romantic School are Gil y Zárate and José Zorrilla, who joined the ranks with "Carlos II el Hechizado" (1837) and "El zapatero y el rey" (1840–41), respectively. Translations of French romantic dramas helped to increase the number of such plays available for representation. To Eugenio de Ochoa, Hartzenbusch's first biographer, we owe excellent translations of Hugo's "Hernani" and Dumas's "Antony;" Ochoa's original dramas were mediocre. Escosura translated "Catherine Howard" and "Paul Jones" (with the title of "Pablo el Marino"), both of Dumas; Pedro de Gorostiza translated "Lucrèce Borgia" of Hugo, García Gutiérrez, "La Tour de Nesle" of Dumas, under the title of "Margarita de

Borgoña," and Hartzenbusch, Dumas's "Angèle" with the title of "Ernesto."

Original and translated romantic dramas continued to appear after the first eruption of romantic fervor, but their popularity gradually decreased, so that in the fifties some of Hartzenbusch's best dramas, and those of Zorrilla and García Gutiérrez, did not attract the attention they deserved. The reaction which usually follows a period of overemphasized enthusiasm first manifested itself in the early plays of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda whose first dramatic success was "Alfonso Munio" (1844). This reaction was a sort of compromise between undisciplined Romanticism and the more sober standards of Classicism; it also announced a tendency toward realism. The realistic tendencies of the comedies of Bretón, Scribe and "El hombre de mundo" of Ventura de la Vega partly account for the great popularity they enjoyed at that time; Ventura's comedy is a prelude to the 'alta comedia' which took definite form in the comedies of manners of Adelardo López de Ayala and Tamayo y Baus and which found its highest expression in "El tanto por ciento" (1861) of the former and "Lo positivo" (1862) of the latter. Among those who wrote comedies of manners we must mention Tomás Rodríguez Rubí, who began his dramatic career in 1840 and wrote more than one hundred plays of all sorts, several of which were popular.

Like the majority of his contemporaries, Hartzenbusch accepted all the dramatic 'genres' which were popular in his time. His versatility and the breadth of his interests as well as his industry are evident from the fact that during the period of his dramatic activity he wrote at least twenty-seven original plays, ten recasts of comedies of the Golden Age, twenty-two translations and adaptations from the French, one translation from the Italian and one from the German. The twenty-seven original compositions may be classified as follows: nine dramas in verse, one in prose and verse and three in prose; six comedies in prose, one in verse, and one in prose and verse, the last two in collaboration; two comedies of magic in prose and verse; two 'zarzuelas' in prose and verse; and two 'loas' in prose. His adaptations from the French are studied in another chapter,

but it may not be amiss to call attention here to the influence that the study of the French drama must have exerted upon his own conception of dramatic technique. He seems to have been interested in French plays of every description for in his translations and adaptations he drew upon writers as dissimilar as Regnard, Piron, Voltaire, Sébastien Mercier, Beaumarchais, Picard, Scribe, Dumas the elder and Augier. It must be admitted, however, that while he gives evidence of catholic taste with respect to French plays, he often showed little critical judgment in estimating the merit of some of the plays he adapted for the Spanish stage. Possibly in certain cases, he himself attached no importance to the plays he adapted.

We should not forget the influence that Hartzenbusch's study of the poets of the Golden Age must have had upon his own conception of playwriting. Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Francisco de Rojas, Moreto and Calderón furnished him the material for ten of his plays, and it was a recast of "El amo criado" of Francisco de Rojas, first presented on April 24, 1829, at the Teatro de la Cruz, that opened to him for the first time a public theatre. This play ran for three nights, which must have greatly encouraged the young dramatist. In the same year, and at the same theatre there was a successful performance of "El regreso inesperado," and "El tutor," which attracted little attention. But Hartzenbusch was not yet firmly established, for "Las hijas de Gracián Ramírez," performed on February 8th and 9th, 1831, was so complete a failure that the author did not return to the stage for six years, when his greatest triumph, "Los amantes de Teruel," was recorded. Ochoa[5] tells us that Hartzenbusch had already written the first act of "Las hijas de Gracián Ramírez" in 'romance heroico' with the intention of adapting the play to the rules of classical art; but realizing that he was composing a work without the spectacular elements required by the theatrical management he changed his mind and wrote it in prose "con los imprescindibles requisitos de pompa y ruido, pero sin el dichoso milagro." So great was his

[5] Eugenio de Ochoa, biography of Hartzenbusch, *Obras escogidas de Don J. E. Hartzenbusch*, Paris, 1850.

disappointment at the failure of this drama that he vowed he would never again witness the first performance of any of his plays, a vow that he never violated throughout his whole subsequent career.

However, long before the doors of the public theatres were definitely opened to him, Hartzenbusch saw several of his plays represented by a company of amateur actors who performed in a private theatre established at No. 12, Calle de la Flor Baja, the property of his cousin, María Hartzenbusch. The plays of Hartzenbusch performed at this theatre, according to his son,[6] are "La pupila y la péndola" (1830), "El barbero de Sevilla" (1838), "El hijo pródigo" and "La gresca del retrato," all translations from the French; later the first two were represented in public; the last two were attributed to Hartzenbusch by his biographers but if they are his, the manuscripts are lost. "El español y la francesa" also was represented there in 1823. As I explain in the next chapter it is obvious that our author did not write this play; nevertheless, he must have had something to do with the representation of it at that time, and from this we conjecture that between 1823 and 1827, and thereafter, several plays of unknown date, or the manuscripts of which have been lost, were represented at this theatre, or at the theatre established in Hartzenbusch's own home, where "La escuela de los padres" was performed in 1827.

Eugenio Hartzenbusch[7] gives the names of the amateur actors who took part in the first performance of this last comedy: three have the family name of Hartzenbusch and a fourth was María Morgue, our poet's first wife. The other five actors were undoubtedly friends of the young dramatist, and it is likely also that the actors at María Hartzenbusch's theatre were friends and relatives of Juan Eugenio. His son mentions a third private theatre in the Calle de Enhoramala Vayas where he believes that "El espíritu de contradicción" was performed.[8]

The existence of these theatres gives undeniable evidence of the great interest in the drama among Hartzenbusch's friends

[6] Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 55, 133, 134.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

and relatives; this dramatic atmosphere must have exerted a great influence upon him; the opportunity to see his own plays acted and the good advice he undoubtedly received from friends and impartial spectators must have been very beneficial to the young man who, notwithstanding his inherent dramatic instinct, did not have the genius to become a finished dramatist without much schooling and long experience.

The early plays performed in the public theatres brought him little money and, when he found himself without work as cabinet-maker in 1834, he studied shorthand and during part of the two following years he secured work with "La Gaceta de Madrid" and the "Diario de Cortes" as stenographer. During this time he was engaged in the composition of "Los amantes de Teruel." According to Mesonero Romanos,[9] Hartzenbusch had already written a few scenes of this drama as early as 1831, for in that year the dramatist submitted a few dialogues of the play to Mesonero who had criticised without mercy the performance of "Las hijas de Gracián Ramírez." The performance of Larra's "Macías" in 1834 must have been a great disappointment to Hartzenbusch, for by a curious coincidence, its plot bore a marked resemblance to "Los amantes" upon which he himself was then engaged. However, he rewrote the play, and when it was performed for the first time on January 19, 1837, at the Teatro del Príncipe, it obtained a success comparable in Spain only with that accorded to "El Trovador." This play established his reputation as a dramatist. He had given up stenography shortly before his hour of triumph, and he was now free to devote all of his time to literary work. Managers eagerly sought his plays, and journalists welcomed his collaboration.

However, Hartzenbusch never again attained the combined dramatic and literary excellence of his first great success. Only "Doña Mencía" (1838) was received with favor comparable with that of "Los amantes." Among his other dramas, the most noteworthy are "Alfonso el Casto" (1841), "La jura en Santa Gadea" (1845), "La madre de Pelayo" (1846), "La ley

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[9] Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón*, Madrid, 1880, chapter on *El teatro y los poetas.*

de raza" (1852), "Vida por honra" (1858) and "El mal apóstol y el buen ladrón" (1860). With the exception of two comedies of magic, "La redoma encantada" and "Los polvos de la madre Celestina," his comedies met with little success. The only one of his original comedies that was entirely successful was "Juan de las Viñas" (1844).

The year 1843 seems to mark a change in Hartzenbusch's attitude toward the drama. With the single exception of "Los amantes de Teruel," the plays of the first period are obscure and complicated, overcharged with irrelevant incidents. They show a lack of careful construction and he appears to have depended too much upon the beauty of his verse and dramatic effect. "Primero yo," "El bachiller Mendarias" and "Honoria," all three published in 1842, were failures; it must have been evident to him that a new formula was necessary.

In the second period of his dramatic activity, Hartzenbusch became an exponent of the well-constructed play. Maturity had quickened his critical sense. He paid more attention to plot construction; useless incidents were discarded; he became more conservative in the use of metrical forms and restricted himself almost entirely to the common metres, and his later dramas (his comedies, except "Juan de las Viñas," are just as complicated) are marked by restraint, moderation and simplicity. The success accorded to "La jura en Santa Gadea," "La madre de Pelayo" and "Juan de las Viñas" justified his choice of a new method of presenting his characters.

Unfortunately for Hartzenbusch, the new dramatic school under the leadership of Tamayo y Baus and López de Ayala, was already in the ascendant, and public taste had changed. As a result of this, Hartzenbusch's last important dramas, "La ley de raza," "Vida por honra" and "El mal apóstol y el buen ladrón" were appreciated only by the critics.

Hartzenbusch continuously revised his plays for subsequent editions, but with few exceptions the revisions are limited to corrections of style and vocabulary. Besides "Los amantes de Teruel," he recast "La redoma encantada," "Los polvos de la madre Celestina," both of which are discussed in the following chapters, and "Heliodora," a mediocre 'zarzuela', published in

Hartzenbusch's "Obras de encargo" (1864), written as a story in dialogue rather than for the stage. He rearranged it for representation in 1874 but it was not performed until after his death in 1880 in honor of his memory. This revision was published in 1880. "El perro del hortelano," published in 1903 by his son is the only other posthumous publication.

"Los amantes de Teruel," published in 1836, was written in accordance with the innovation introduced by the Duque de Rivas who had composed his "Don Álvaro" in prose and verse. Both dramatists generally use prose for narration and description, and verse for lyrical and heroic scenes. With the exception of "Vida por honra" and "Doña Juana Coello" (1860), which was neither published nor represented, all of Hartzenbusch's subsequent dramas are in verse. Evidently he preferred to write his dramas in verse, and it seems that he did not like the prose-verse combination, for in the succeeding editions of "Los amantes" he gradually reduced the prose and increased the verse, so that the last edition (1888) contains only nine pages of prose as compared to twenty-seven pages in 1836. The most radical changes occur in the edition of 1849 which is a complete revision of the original composition: he reduced the five acts to four, used the octosyllabic 'verso de romance' in two scenes originally written in prose, reduced the rest of the prose, rewrote the dénouement and omitted the only two scenes written in 'verso de romance' of six syllables with the assonance on the sixth; it is important to note that he used this metre only once again, in "Primero yo." His principal reason for the changes made was to produce a better constructed play in accordance with his second method; in fact, each subsequent edition is better constructed than the one preceding, the intrigue is better constructed, the action more rapid, but what the work gained in dramatic perfection, it lost in freshness and in the spontaneity of the first inspiration.

There is no obvious reason why Hartzenbusch should have written "Vida por honra" and "Doña Juana Coello" in prose, as both dramas belong to the realm of poetry as much as the verse-dramas. Neither can we explain why Hartzenbusch, a much better poet than a prose writer, wrote his comedies in prose at a

time when audiences preferred comedies in verse; among others, his own comedy, "La coja y el encogido" (1843), was accorded a cool reception, in Granada, partly because it was written in prose. His more successful contemporaries wrote nearly all their comedies in verse. With the exception of his comedies of magic, he used verse in only two comedies, "¡Es un bandido!" (1843), in prose and verse, in collaboration with Diana, and "Una onza a terno seco" (1845), in verse, in which he collaborated with Rubí.

As a dramatic poet, Hartzenbusch adhered to conventional forms; with few exceptions, he consistently employed three octosyllabic combinations: the 'verso de romance', 'redondillas' and 'quintillas', and two hendecasyllabic forms: the 'romance heroico' and quatrains, usually rhyming in *abba*, but sometimes in *abab* in the same passage. The predominant metres of his plays are also the favorite metres of his contemporaries, namely, the 'verso de romance', which he usually employs in the exposition, in narratives and recitations, and 'redondillas', used in lyrical passages. But at times, especially when the personal note is minimized, he changes from one form to another without apparent reason, undoubtedly for the sake of variety. For lyrical passages, usually in monologues and long tirades, he also employs the 'quintilla' and, occasionally, 'décimas'. Hendecasyllabic combinations occur only twenty-two times in Hartzenbusch's original plays, invariably to create a stately or tragic atmosphere and in heroic and tragic scenes. The 'romance heroico' and quatrains are used eight times each, the 'silva', twice, 'octavas reales', twice, the 'copla de arte mayor', once, and one sonnet. Other rare forms are an eight-line stanza of seven-syllable verses, rhyming in *abacdedc*, used only once, in a lyrical love scene in "La ley de raza," and short 'versos de romance' with the assonance on the fifth syllable, used only five times. The favorite instrument of the 'zarzuelas' is prose, and, with the exception of the common verse forms, the metrical forms are a series of combinations of verses of various lengths set to music.

While Hartzenbusch is known chiefly as a dramatist, he occupies a position of merit among his contemporaries as a

poet, and he also devoted considerable attention to literary criticism. His study of the plays of Lope de Vega, for example, was considered authoritative in his day. Mention should also be made of many articles contributed to various newspapers and addresses delivered on important occasions, which have been listed by his son.

In 1844 he accepted a position as assistant to the Director of the Biblioteca Nacional. He was of too retiring a disposition to present himself as a candidate for the Royal Spanish Academy, but he was elected in 1847 when, by virtue of a Royal decree, the membership of that body was increased. He was appointed Director of the Normal School in 1854 and held that position until 1862, when he became Director of the Biblioteca Nacional.

In spite of his innumerable duties, he always found time to help those who turned to him for assistance. Whether criticism of a manuscript or financial aid was desired, he gave freely. As early as 1846 Ferrer del Río referred to him picturesquely as the "paño de lágrimas" for all those who turned to him for comfort.[10] A number of manuscript letters preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional show how easily the heart of the kindly old man was touched by the needs of others, and in a letter published in "El Imparcial"[11] Zorrilla voiced his gratitude for assistance given him by Hartzenbusch forty years before.

His first wife, Doña María Bernardina Morgue, whom he married in 1830, died in 1836, leaving no children. He married his second wife, Doña Salvadora Hiriart, sometime before 1840, and from this marriage a son, Eugenio, was born, to whom we owe an excellent bibliography of his father's works. His second wife died in 1867[12] and her loss, coupled with his own ill health, saddened the last years of his life.

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[10] Antonio Ferrer del Río, biography of Hartzenbusch, *Galería de la literatura*, Madrid, 1846.

[11] Dated August 3d, 1880.

[12] Letter of Hartzenbusch to his friend, D. Luis Ramírez de las Casas Deza, dated May 10, 1867. The manuscript letter is in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

He died at Madrid on August 2d, 1880. The Spanish Academy, contrary to its custom, attended his funeral in a body, but his death made little impression upon the general public. His important dramatic work had been done many years before and his name was no longer familiar to the theatre-goers of the capital.

CHAPTER II

PLAYS TRANSLATED OR ADAPTED FROM THE FRENCH

I. La escuela de los padres

"La escuela de los padres," a two-act comedy in prose, was first performed in Hartzenbusch's home on February 18th, 1827, by a group of amateur actors, among whom were three of the author's relatives and Doña María Morgue, the lady whom he married in 1830. To her the play was dedicated on April 10th, 1827. It was again performed privately on the 22d, 24th, 25th and 27th of the same month, but was never presented on the public stage of Madrid, and was never printed.[1]

Eugenio Hartzenbusch states that this play was presented without his father's knowledge in Barcelona on August 22d, 1831, on which occasion it was announced as an original composition in four acts with the title "La escuela de los padres o los hijos ingratos." It is likely that he confused his father's play with Manuel Hernando Pizarro's comedy in four acts entitled "La escuela de los padres o un mes de matrimonio," which was presented at the Teatro de la Cruz of Madrid on February 2d, 1831.[2] Perhaps we may assume that Eugenio Hartzenbusch saw a handbill of the Barcelona performance that did not include the name of the author and supposed it was his father's play in spite of the sub-title.

"La escuela de los padres" is adapted from Alexis Piron's "L'École des pères"[3] in five acts and in verse, first performed in 1728 under the title "Les Fils ingrats," a substitute title which Piron used to please the actors of the Théâtre Français who

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[1] The autograph manuscript of this play, together with other manuscripts to which reference will be made, was bequeathed to the Biblioteca Nacional by Eugenio Hartzenbusch shortly before his death in 1910. Extracts from this play, and information concerning it, are found in Eugenio Hartzenbusch's *Bibliografía de Hartzenbusch*, Madrid, 1900, pp. 15–25.

[2] There is a manuscript of Pizarro's play in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid.

[3] Mentioned by E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

objected to the original title because so many plays entitled "École——," had been unsuccessful.[4] "L'École des pères" is a comedy with a moral purpose meant to appeal to the sentiments of the audience with the intention of correcting vices and teaching virtue; as such it is considered as a notable precursor of the excessively serious and sentimental 'comédie larmoyante', the tendencies of which first appeared in "Le Philosophe marié" (1727) of Destouches. The principles of the genre were formulated by Nivelle de la Chaussée, whose "Le Préjugé à la mode" (1735) is the first example in which the pathetic reigns supreme. There is still much comedy in Piron's play, thanks to the witty and humorous servants and the farmer Grégoire; but the leading personages, without relief, already belong to the 'comédie larmoyante'.

In "L'École des péres" Géronte wishes to marry Angélique, the orphan and penniless daughter of his old friend Argante, to one of his three sons. In the belief that the latter should enjoy the comforts of life while they are young, he has divided his fortune among them, keeping barely enough for his own needs. His brother Chrisalde had protested against this division, believing the three sons to be ungrateful hypocrites, but Géronte confidently believes they will show their gratitude to him when the occasion arises. The sons do not know that Géronte and Angélique are acquainted, although for a time the former had been in love with his young 'protégée', but now he has fully decided that youth should mate with youth. Géronte agrees to follow the suggestion of the sceptical Chrisalde that the sons should remain ignorant of Angélique's identity, whom, however, they have already seen.

Out of loyalty for Géronte, Angélique is willing to accept his choice for her husband; but she has no illusions regarding his three sons whom Pasquin, Géronte's valet, describes to her in all their baseness. It is agreed that Pasquin and Nérine, her maid, shall work together to reveal their true qualities, Pasquin playing upon their avarice and Nérine taking advantage of

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[4] *Œuvres d'Alexis Piron*, Paris, 1758, Vol. I, Preface.

their love for Angélique, whom she has already pictured to them as a wealthy countess.

In the second act, Géronte patiently bears the affronts of his sons, believing them incapable of disloyalty to him, and he is even happy to learn from Grégoire, Pasquin's father, that the farm-house in which he had hoped to live, had been burned, since this catastrophe would merely offer an opportunity to his sons to show their generosity to him. However, this news is only a part of Pasquin's ruse to reveal the true nature of the three sons. With the same idea in view, he tells them that their father has sent for them to divide among them an unexpected windfall, which naturally provokes a dispute between the brothers. In the meantime, Nérine informs them that the "Countess" is coming to recommend a friend, who, in reality, is Angélique herself. To each of them separately she whispers a hopeful answer to their love letters to the "Countess".

In the third act, the three sons joyfully obey their father's summons, but are keenly disappointed when they learn that he needs them as a result of the loss of his farm-house. Géronte, with a broken heart withdraws, and the sons make hypocritical excuses to Chrisalde for refusing to marry Angélique. Chrisalde, pretending that he wishes to help them out of their predicament, promises to assume responsibility for her. Chrisalde, however, determines, by means of a trick, to convince Géronte of his sons' disloyalty, and Pasquin confides to them that the story of the ruined farm-house was merely a device to test them before dividing among them his newly acquired fortune.

In the fourth act, the sons come one after another to the rendezvous with the "Countess" which has been arranged by Nérine, and each one is surprised to find that he is not the only suitor. Grégoire upbraids them for their ingratitude, and believing that Géronte has money, they promise Grégoire to offer their fortunes to their father. They realize that they have been duped by Nérine, but they make advances to the "Countess", alleging their love for her as an excuse for not accepting Argante's daughter. The "Countess" indignantly scorns their offer, declaring to them that they are more in love with her money than with herself. When they promise to help Angélique,

she advises them to assist their father, declaring she will only listen to them when they show themselves worthy of her love. In the meantime, Pasquin contrives to let the sons see Grégoire count money from a bag of gold, furnished by Chrisalde and supposed to belong to Géronte, which still further arouses the cupidity of the three sons.

In the last act, Angélique and the three sons are made to believe that Argante's ship has arrived and that the orphan daughter is wealthy. Géronte refuses her offer of help, and when his three sons propose to marry Angélique, without even knowing who she is, the unhappy father bitterly assails their selfishness and hypocrisy, reveals Angélique to them as the "Countess", and bids her seek a husband who really deserves her love. But Angélique does not have to seek far; she chooses Géronte after he has disclosed his affection for her. To add to their discomfiture, the three sons learn that Chrisalde has disinherited them in favor of Angélique, and that the story of Argante's ship and the bags of gold were merely devices to reveal their greed. The young men leave, punished, but unrepentant.

It is interesting to note some of the more important changes made by Hartzenbusch in adapting Piron's play. In spite of the fact that he combines the first three acts of the French play in Act I and the last two acts in Act II, his version is not very much shorter than his original. In fact, particularly in the dialogues, Hartzenbusch's prose is more developed than the corresponding Alexandrine verses of Piron's play.

The fourth scene of the first act of the Spanish play has no equivalent in the original version. Here Isabel shows that she is not satisfied with Joaquín's decision to marry her to one of his sons and that she has some affection for the unhappy father. In Piron's version, Angélique pities Géronte, but there is no indication until the fifth Act that she has any real love for him. This bit of motivation reveals Hartzenbusch's stagecraft, since by this change, the reader not only looks forward to the punishment of the ungrateful sons, but also to the union of the father with his 'protégée'.

In this, as in other adaptations, Hartzenbusch attempted to secure unity of action by omitting all scenes and characters

which, in his opinion, are not necessary to the development of the plot. This probably explains his suppression of the rôle of Nérine, which necessitated the omission and revision of a considerable number of scenes, since the part that she plays in the action had to be divided among Gabino (Pasquin), Melchor (Chrisalde) and Gregorio (Grégoire). Possibly he may have felt that her rôle accorded better with the traditions of French comedy than with the social conventions of his own day, but while his version gained in credibility and in fidelity to life in Spain a hundred years ago, it lost the humorous scenes which center about Nérine in the French original and which constitute the chief interest to the reader of today.

It is largely because of this that the moral issues involved are far more prominent in the adaptation, which reveals that Hartzenbusch believed, more than Piron, in the moral efficacy of the comedy. The difference between the points of view of the two dramatists may be illustrated by the dénouement in the two plays. In Piron's comedy, the three sons are punished for their ingratitude, but remain as arrogant and impertinent as before; in Hartzenbusch's version, they profit by the lesson and kneel, repentant, before their father, who is willing to forgive them. This last scene in the French original accords with the traditions of French comedy; like Molière, Piron knew that human nature does not change in a few hours. Hartzenbusch, on the other hand, is more sentimental and attempted to show that the moral lesson had been salutary. His ideal is not the chastisement of the vicious but their immediate conversion.

II. El regreso inesperado

"El regreso inesperado,"[5] a prose comedy in one act, was first performed at the Teatro de la Cruz of Madrid on August 18th, 1829, on which occasion it was announced without the name of the translator nor of the author of the original. It was repeated on the following night, and again in the Teatro de la Cruz on

[5] This play was never published. E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–29, printed a few scenes from the manuscript which is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

September 5th, 6th and 7th, and at the Teatro del Príncipe on October 30th and 31st of the same year. It was well received by its audiences, according to Ochoa, and was mentioned by the dramatic critic of "El Correo Literario y Mercantil" on August 21st, 1829, as a "traducción de la graciosa pieza de Regnard titulada 'Le Retour imprévu'," a one-act prose-comedy published in 1700.

Regnard, the most successful disciple of Molière, is noted for his comedies of character in which he painted representative types of his day. But it was only on rare occasions that he attempted the 'haute comédie' and usually he wrote little comedies of situations in which he is essentially a fun-maker and merely aimed to amuse. This type of comedy, of which "Le Retour imprévu" is the most noteworthy example, is characterized by its exuberance of gayety and farcical wit.[6]

In Regnard's play, Clitandre, an irresponsible youth, takes advantage of the absence of his father, Géronte, to indulge in extravagant escapades, in which he is aided and abetted by his valet, Merlin. As his guests at a house party he is entertaining his sweetheart, Lucile, her cousin, Cidalise, and a boastful and penniless Marquis. Complications start when Jaquinet, Géronte's valet, enters announcing that his master will arrive home shortly. Jaquinet is disposed of by plying him generously with wine, and various devices are employed by Merlin to prevent Géronte from entering his house. A usurer, André, presents bills against Clitandre, and Merlin explains to the gullible father that the youth had borrowed money to buy a house, and when pressed for an explanation, Merlin points out a house that happens to belong to Mme. Bertrand, Lucile's aunt, adding that Géronte could not visit the house because the lady had been declared insane and the house had been sold against

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[6] According to Alexandre Piédagnel, editor of *Œuvres de Regnard*, Paris, 1888, p. 510, Regnard borrowed the subject from the *Mostellaria* of Plautus which had already tempted Pierre Larivey in *Les Esprits* (1578) and Montfleury in *Le Comédie npoète* (1673). But Marcel Braunschvig in *Notre Littérature étudiée dans les textes*, Paris, 1923, Vol. I, p. 323, infers that Regnard imitated *Les Esprits* which had already furnished situations for Molière's *L'École des maris* and *L'Avare*. In spite of evident similarities it is difficult to state definitely which of the above predecessors Regnard imitated.

her will. The plot thickens when Mme. Bertrand appears, but Merlin is ready for any emergency, and explains to her that Géronte is insane. The latter, however, soon learns of the misconduct of his son, who confesses his faults and asks his father's consent to marry Lucile. Mme. Bertrand gives her assent, and the father follows suit, fearing that refusal might result in even wilder follies on the part of the young people.

In his adaptation, Hartzenbusch followed closely the plot development and dénouement of the original, but in accordance with his usual practice omitted scenes that he considered unnecessary to the story. This explains his suppression of the rôle of Cidalise. He also minimized the servant parts, particularly in the case of Lisette, whose readiness to give advice might have jarred upon the susceptibilities of a Spanish audience of his day. Furthermore, Lucile probably appeared to him too frivolous for the Spanish stage. In Hartzenbusch's time, it was even less customary than it is today for young women to go about unescorted, and a Spanish audience might well have had doubts regarding Lucile's respectability. Therefore, he substitutes for her Teresa, a penniless widow, who is dependent upon her aunt Veronica for a dowry. The latter is not so tolerant toward her niece as Mme. Bertrand, for following Spanish traditions, she is greatly concerned with the honor of her family. The dénouement is reached less rapidly in the Spanish version, for Doña Veronica is loath to forgive her niece, and the father will only consent to his son's marriage when the question of dowry is settled by Veronica's promise to pay. The action of the adaptation moves more rapidly, but we miss some of the humorous situations and witty dialogue of Regnard's play.

III. El tutor

"El tutor,"[7] a one-act prose comedy, was first performed at the Teatro de la Cruz on September 23d, 1829. It was played

[7] This play exists only in manuscript form of which there are three undated copies in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid. One of these (No. 1) is in Hartzenbusch's handwriting, except the subtitle, (*Los disfraces*), and is no doubt the original. E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–33, printed two scenes of the manuscript.

again on the following evening, and was then withdrawn. In the "Diario de Madrid" it was announced as "El tutor, o los disfraces." The critic of "El Correo Literario y Mercantil" on September 25th disposes of it summarily as a real grotesque farce, that produced little effect and did not deserve discussion.

The play is adapted from Dancourt's "Le Tuteur"[8] (1695), in one act and in prose. Dancourt, another successor of Molière, excels in comedies of manners where he exhibits a long list of portraits of the common types of his time, a preoccupation which he does not even abandon in his short comedies of intrigue, like "Le Tuteur," in which his principal object is to amuse by a vivid painting of the comical side of society.

The plot of "Le Tuteur" turns upon the love affairs of Angélique, who is ready to accept almost any suitor in order to free herself from her odious guardian, Bernard. The latter has always found a pretext to rid himself of her admirers, and the conjecture made by Lisette to her mistress that Bernard is reserving her for himself is almost immediately verified by Bernard's announcement to Angélique that he plans to marry her the following day. However, one of Angélique's gallants still remains on the scene; this is Dorante who with the aid of d'Artimon, Angélique's uncle, has entered Bernard's employ as a painter so that he might remain near the object of his love, and who has secured the post of gardener for his valet, Lolive. The latter tells Dorante of the plans for Angélique's wedding, and the girl learns from Lisette that the painter is one of her lovers in disguise. Dorante declares his love to her, but their conversation is interrupted, and Lisette tells Lolive to return to the same place at nightfall with Dorante. The suspicions of Bernard have been aroused; he refuses to allow Angélique to remain in the garden, whereupon Angélique has recourse to a ruse. She tells Bernard that the painter (Dorante) and gardener (Lolive) had sought an interview with Lisette and herself, and asks him to punish them for their impertinence. Bernard and his companion, Lucas, a peasant, dressed as Angélique and Lisette, go to the rendezvous, where they are well beaten by Dorante and

[8] E. Hartzenbusch, *ibid.*, p. 30.

Lolive, who are, of course, aware of their identity. Dorante excuses himself to Bernard on the ground that he wished to punish Angélique for deceiving her guardian. In the meantime, d'Artimon appears, pretends to believe Bernard insane for appearing in feminine attire, and takes charge of Angélique himself. Bernard realizes that he has been outwitted; when left alone with him, Lucas remarks philosophically that while they were not insane, they were fools, and they would have been still greater fools had they married hussies such as Angélique and Lisette.

Hartzenbusch follows closely his original and retains all of the characters with the single exception of Mathurine, who appears only once in the French play and whose presence is not necessary to the plot. The adaptation, however, is much shorter than Dancourt's comedy as a result of Hartzenbusch's practice in including only those scenes that have a direct bearing upon the plot. While a better constructed play than the original, it is much inferior in comic interest. The chief changes in characters are found in the rôles of Angélique and Lisette. Cecilia is lacking in Angélique's spirit of independence. Although dissatisfied with the life of the small town where her guardian obliges her to live, she accepts the disagreeable situation more readily than the French girl. Angélique is not unwilling to elope, but believes that she will gain her ends better by patience and feigned obedience. Cecilia, on the other hand, looks upon elopement as a sin and as unbecoming to a young lady who should respect the authority of her guardian. This attitude, however, does not prevent her from being a party to the trick which ends in his being beaten.

Similar changes were made in the part of Lisette in order to make the play more credible to a Spanish audience. In Dancourt's comedy, Lisette is the guiding hand in the intrigue, while Catalina is merely a rather commonplace servant, and in the adaptation we miss the sprightly wit and resourcefulness of Angélique's friend, servant and confidante.

IV. La pupila y la péndola

This play, a one-act prose comedy, was first performed during

the Carnival season of 1830 at María Hartzenbusch's private theatre,[9] and was presented without the playwright's name on April 7th, 1838, at the Teatro de Buenavista. It was performed again on April 8th, 15th, 16th, 29th and May 3d and 29th of the same year. It received little critical comment in the newspapers, but judging from the number of performances, must have been favorably received, and after a long interval, was again put on the boards in the Teatro de la Comedia on September 20th, 22d, 29th, 30th and December 15th, 1850, and also on January 22d and 23d, 1851. It was announced in the newspapers without the name of the author, and in the edition published in 1848 in the "Biblioteca Dramática" of Lalama, the statement is merely made that Hartzenbusch adapted it from the French. Don Eugenio Hartzenbusch gives no information regarding its source, and I have been unable to identify the French play upon which it is based.

It is a good little comedy of intrigue enlivened by witty dialogue. The usurer Ecequiel, unwilling to give up the dowry of Isabel, his ward, refuses to marry her to Leandro. Enamored of Isabel's dowry, the unscrupulous Remijio poses as Leandro's friend, slips into Ecequiel's house, disguised as a notary, and kidnaps Isabel, making her believe that Leandro wants her to elope. Meanwhile, Moratilla, Ecequiel's dismissed servant, induces Gervasio to enter the usurer's house to steal a clock which Moratilla had sold his master, ignorant, at the time, that an inheritance of 8000 'reales' was hidden in it. Later, Remijio and Gervasio overhear Ecequiel, who is unaware of Isabel's disappearance, threaten to have the thief hanged. Remijio believes that Ecequiel referred to the kidnapper, and he and Gervasio, both ignorant of the other's misdemeanor, exchange clothes in order to escape arrest. Remijio is reprimanded and sent to jail accused of the theft of the clock, but he thinks that it is because of his kidnapping of the ward whom he has abandoned, unsuccessful in his endeavor to force himself upon her. Then follows a heated discussion between Gervasio and Leandro who takes the former for the kidnapper of his sweet-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

heart; the confusion is prolonged since the pronoun "la" might refer to either clock or ward and, finally, they come to blows. Moratilla brings back the clock and the ward and is reinstated as Ecequiel's servant; Leandro abandons the dowry to the usurer who, without regret, gives him Isabel, and all ends well, except for Remijio whose father plans to keep him in a reformatory.

V. La independencia filial

"La independencia filial," a comedy for children in three acts and in prose, was written about the year 1837, and Hartzenbusch himself has given us some information regarding its composition.[10] In that year, a gentleman whose name he does not mention, but who was Juan González Caboreluz according to Eugenio Hartzenbusch,[11] gave to him the plan of a comedy for children which Hartzenbusch expanded into "El niño desobediente." At the same time he was asked to translate a French play, "inserta, si no me acuerdo mal, en la 'Gaceta de los Niños'," as Hartzenbusch writes. This statement is misleading, for he does not refer to the Spanish "Gaceta de los Niños," which was published in Madrid only during the years 1798–99, but to the French "Gazette des Enfants" of which I found a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This periodical which appeared only in the year 1837, contains a play entitled "Vive l'Indépendance!" by L. Auquier who contributed to the same magazine other plays for children.

After making the translation, Hartzenbusch apparently forgot the incident, but some years later it occurred to him that he had no copy of the manuscripts of "El niño desobediente" and of the other play to which he had given the name "La independencia filial," and he asked his friend for them. Both compositions were then published in the "Semanario Pintoresco Español" in the year 1849, "La independencia filial" in the issues of June 10th and 24th, and July 1st. Shortly afterwards, Hartzenbusch learned that "El niño desobediente" had been performed more

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[10] In the Advertencia to *El niño desobediente* published in Vol. II of the *Cuentos y fábulas de Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch*, Madrid, 1862.

[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 54–55.

than once before Isabel II when she was a child. In view of this, it is possible that "La independencia filial" was also presented without the knowledge of Hartzenbusch.

Auquier's play, in three acts and in prose, drives home the moral that if children are given free rein, they soon realize the necessity of dependence upon their elders. Jules, a boy twelve years old, chafes under the restrictions imposed upon him by his tutor, Dumont, and finally his father, Blainville, consents to allow him complete freedom of action with the understanding that the boy shall assume full responsibility for his acts until he expresses a desire to place himself again under his father's authority. Eager to take advantage of his freedom, Jules, accompanied by his friends, Léon and César, who are wilder and less scrupulous than he, goes off to a tavern to associate with real men. But Jules cuts a sorry figure in this low company, the boys get into trouble and his friends desert him. This scene is witnessed from a place of concealment by Dumont and Blainville. When Jules returns home somewhat disillusioned, he is indignant when his father tells him that he would not have defended him against his companions, but Blainville reminds him of their agreement that the boy himself would accept full responsibility for his acts.

Jules, however, is not yet ready to surrender his newly-won liberty. Soon afterward, the boys create a disturbance in the neighborhood, which sends Jules to jail. The boy then sees the folly of his conduct, and is quite willing to place himself once more in his father's hands since Blainville is ready to pay for the damage that has been done. Jules is thus made to realize that parents must have authority over their children since they are responsible to society for their conduct.

In adapting this play, which is devoid of merit, Hartzenbusch followed his original closely, and made only a few changes of little significance. It is surprising that he should have attached sufficient importance to it to have sent it to a magazine for publication.

VI. Ernesto

In 1837 Hartzenbusch made a free adaptation of "Angèle"

(1833) of Alexandre Dumas *père* to which he gave the name "Ernesto." The original play was, of course, well known in literary circles of Madrid, and doubts were expressed as to whether any one of the translations that had been made would be acceptable to Madrid audiences. The dramatic critic of the newspaper "No Me Olvides," December 31, 1837, wrote:

"Escriben de Granada que uno de los primeros días de este mes se ha ejecutado en el teatro de aquella capital el drama de Alejandro Dumas, titulado 'Angela', traducido por Don José Felipe de Zaragoza."

The editors of this newspaper had received a copy of another translation by Don José Llansas, which was supposed to have been performed in Barcelona. The critic mentioned above continues:

"En el círculo literario de Madrid, no se cree que esta obra sería bien recibida del público, a pesar de su innegable mérito artístico. Atendiendo a esto, un literato de mucho concepto se ha ocupado en arreglarla a nuestro teatro, lo cual ha verificado, cambiando a más el nombre que el autor le puso, en el de 'Ernesto'."

"Ernesto" was published in 1837, probably in the month of December, and it is possible that certain changes were made in the text before the play received its first performance in the Teatro del Príncipe on March 15, 1838. It was also announced in the "Diario de Madrid" for the night of March 16th, but since Eugenio Hartzenbusch states positively that it was presented only once, there is every reason to believe that it was withdrawn after the initial performance. A writer in "El Siglo XIX" March, 1838,[12] states that the play was prohibited by the censor on the grounds of immorality, and further explains:

"y como había de caer en manos de alguno de los traductores al por mayor, que la diese el último golpe, como si dijéramos, el cachete, y acabar con la mal parada producción (referring to one of the previous translations), quiso el cielo que cayera en las del señor Hartzenbusch, de las que salió, si no más

[12] Vol. I, p. 191.

perfecta que de las de su autor, al menos más arreglada al gusto y exigencias de nuestra escena."

Ochoa says that the censor suspended the performances until certain changes were made; that the censor had no justification in making this demand, but that the actors refused to play it.

The unbridled passions of Romanticism are nowhere better exemplified than in Dumas's "Angèle," one of the most striking types of the social drama of the French Romantic School which protested as strongly against conventional morality as against the arbitrary rules of Classicism. In this play, as in "Antony" (1831), Dumas shows little respect for the institution of marriage.

The chief character of "Angèle" is Alfred d'Alvimar, a calculating Don Juan who seems impelled by destiny to exercise a fatal charm upon every woman he meets and to break the heart of every woman he loves. His liaison with Ernestine terminated, he seeks repose of body and mind in a small health resort in the Pyrenees, and promptly, by a clever trick, makes the fifteen-year-old Angèle his mistress. Angèle chances to occupy the apartment formerly used by Ernestine, and Alfred still retains the key! Another candidate for the gentleman's affection appears in the person of the Countess de Gaston, a widow of thirty-one, beautiful—and Angèle's mother. Quite naturally, the Countess wishes to marry again before her daughter; Alfred is attractive and only thirty-three; and before long the Countess and Alfred leave for Paris together. Angèle is given to understand that Alfred is going to help her mother who will then be more ready to consent to her daughter's marriage with him.

Some months later, the Countess gives a ball at her home in Paris, and plans on that occasion to announce her engagement to Alfred. Among her guests is a certain Madame de Varey, mistress of the man to whom Alfred owes his appointment as Minister at Baden. Complications start for the unscrupulous Lothario when Madame de Varey proves to be Ernestine who, still resentful, determines to interrupt her former lover's new amour and orders him to leave for Baden within three days. Alfred, relying upon the social and political power of the Countess, refuses to obey.

Trouble then comes from another source when Angèle informs Alfred that she is with child. Alfred solicits the aid of young Henri Muller, a physician who had fallen in love with Angèle at Cotterets while seeking cure for tuberculosis, but who had never declared himself because of his physical condition. He is taken blindfolded to her room, so that her identity might remain a secret, and delivers her of her child. Mother and daughter soon discover that they love the same man, and Alfred promises the Countess to marry Angèle, who now, of course, realizes her lover's perfidy. But Alfred continues with his preparations to go to Baden. His escape, however, is prevented by Henri, who has now learned the truth, and who accepts Alfred's challenge to a duel after learning from Angèle that she no longer has any affection for her former lover. Alfred is killed by Henri, and when the notary arrives, who was summoned to sign Alfred's marriage contract with Angèle, Henri formally recognizes the child as his own. When Angèle says that there is still someone else before whom she has reason to blush, Henri answers:

"Celui-là a si peu de temps à vivre!"

Hartzenbusch's change of title was, in my opinion, a happy one. Angèle is the object of our sympathy, but the whole plot centers about Alfred, who in the Spanish version is given the name Ernesto.

"Ernesto" is one of the very few adaptations of Hartzenbusch in which the scene of the play is not changed to give it a Spanish atmosphere. Doubtless he thought it difficult to reproduce in another setting the French political background. A few minor characters were suppressed by Hartzenbusch, but a comparison of the two plays shows few important divergences. One of the most significant of these is that between Alfred and Ernesto. Alfred is a typical product of French Romanticism, melancholy, introspective and a fatalist. For this reason, he is more intelligible than Ernesto, who is rather a man of action and vicious.

Whenever possible, the Spanish dramatist tries to tone down scenes in the original which might give offense to a Spanish audience, but in spite of these precautions, the play was pro-

hibited by the censor, as we know. For example, he cuts ruthlessly the last scene of Act I of the French drama in which Angèle, preparing to retire, recalls her lover in her prayers; Carolina is merely the sister-in-law of the Minister of Foreign Affairs while Ernestine in the French play is his mistress, and the description of Enrique's services to the young mother is glossed over as much as possible. Hartzenbusch's tendency to moralize is also illustrated by Enrique's arraignment of Ernesto for his immoral conduct, which has no counterpart in the French play.

Hartzenbusch unified the action by suppressing some of the comic features and showed his skill in handling dialogue; but as a romantic drama, it is not so effective as the original play.

VII. El barbero de Sevilla o la inútil precaución

"El barbero de Sevilla o la inútil precaución," in four acts and prose, is a translation, as the title indicates, of Beaumarchais's celebrated comedy, "Le Barbier de Séville ou la précaution inutile" (1775). The Spanish version was published in 1840, and had been performed by amateurs in María Hartzenbusch's private theatre in 1838 or before.[13] Many years later, it was revised by Hartzenbusch and was presented in the Teatro del Príncipe on December 28th, 1860, again in the same theatre on December 29th, 30th and 31st, 1863, and also in the Teatro del Príncipe Alfonso on February 18th, 19th and 20th of the year 1878. So far as I know, no copy of the play exists that indicates the changes made for these later performances.

Beaumarchais's play is a pure comedy of intrigue in which to character study and the painting of manners is added the interest of a well constructed plot. It appeared at a time when there was a dearth of good plays and several attempts had been made at something new; classical forms were cracking and Beaumarchais himself had begun his literary career with two 'drames', "Eugénie" (1769) and "Les deux amis" (1770), written according to the principles of the 'tragédie bourgeoise'

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[13] E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

formulated by Diderot, whose "Le Fils naturel" (1757), was the first of the type. "Le Barbier" is a dramatic masterpiece which stands far above anything produced at that time; it is famous as a social and political satire in which the author arraigns and ridicules the privileged castes and professions of the old Régime; the temper of the nation is faithfully reflected and the many social and political allusions forecast the approaching French Revolution. Encouraged by the tremendous success of this comedy Beaumarchais composed "Le Mariage de Figaro," acted in 1784, in which the bold satire of "Le Barbier" becomes insolent and disastrous to aristocracy. The gayety of both comedies stands in high relief over the frozen monotony of the mediocre comedies and 'drames' of the second half of the eighteenth century.

"Le Barbier de Séville" is too well known to require a detailed résumé. The plot is conventional: the Comte Almaviva, unsuccessful in several attempts to prove his affection to Rosine, jealously watched by Bartholo, her guardian, who wishes to make her his wife, avails himself of the help of the barber Figaro, who has access to Bartholo's house. The plot turns into a duel between Bartholo and his adversaries, Almaviva and Figaro; later, Rosine joins her feminine ingenuity to Figaro's cunning and Almaviva's dash. Almaviva enters the house twice in disguise: the first time as an army officer and later, as a substitute for Bazile, Rosine's music teacher. Bartholo discovers Almaviva's second imposture and it seems, for a time, that he has outwitted his adversaries when, obedient to Bazile's advice, he uses calumny as a weapon against Almaviva; Rosine, induced to believe that Almaviva's love is insincere, promises to marry Bartholo. Finally, Rosine learns the truth and Bartholo loses the fight, not because he is outmatched, but because he is on the wrong side, for, as Figaro remarks in the last speech of the play:

"quand la jeunesse et l'amour sont d'accord pour tromper un vieillard, tout ce qu'il fait pour l'empêcher peut bien s'appeler à bon droit La Précaution inutile."

The personages also are conventional, except Figaro, the repre-

sentative of the 'tiers état', in whom centers the interest of the social and political importance of the play.

With the exception of a few minor points, Hartzenbusch followed closely the action of the original comedy. In the case of some of the changes he introduced, his judgment was undoubtedly in error, as for example, the elimination of Rosine's fainting spell and the delightful scene in which the young lovers sigh and kiss while Bartholo dozes. Either Hartzenbusch was incapable of appreciating the delicacy of such scenes, or he was willing to sacrifice them in order to reach his dénouement more rapidly. Bazile's famous definition of calumny also is suppressed and Almaviva's prose version of Bartholo's portrait, written in verse in "Le Barbier," is ineffective.

More radical changes were made in adapting certain of the characters to the Spanish stage. Rosita is not endowed with Rosine's feminine charm and grace; she becomes a rather commonplace ward, without relief and uninteresting. Figaro appears as a commonplace servant who still carries the burden of the intrigue, still humorous, but uninspired. There is nothing in the Spanish play of his failure as a dramatist, nor of the scathing satire against the literary circle of Madrid, which under the circumstances might not have been safe. After Figaro's remarks concerning the loss of his position in the army because he wrote verses, the well-known French text is limited to merely this:

"Después de haber corrido toda la España filosóficamente (es decir, al pie de la letra); después de haber ensayado cien modos de vivir, sin dar con uno que me enriqueciese sin trabajar, como a otros; habitando ya en posadas magníficas por mi gusto, ya en la cárcel por gusto de mis patronas, llegué a convencerme, por fin, de que el áncora de mi salvación era el estuche de mis navajas."

And with the reduction in the rôle of Figaro, the Spanish version lost, perhaps necessarily, those deft allusions to politics and society that forecast the approaching end of the old order.

VIII. Función de boda sin boda

"Función de boda sin boda," a comedy in three acts and in

verse and adapted from Picard's "La Noce sans mariage" (1805), was printed in 1839 under the pseudonym of D. Bautista Calleja. Eugenio Hartzenbusch[14] quotes a statement of his father in which he claims authorship of the composition:

"La traducción titulada 'Función de boda sin boda' está traducida por mí, con mi segundo nombre y apellido Bautista Calleja; la he visto anunciada con mi nombre de J. E. H. en los catálogos del difunto D. Manuel Delgado, sin habérseme pedido permiso para ello."

Obviously he used a pseudonym because he was not proud of his work; in fact, he tells us on the title-page that he had written it many years before, that it was his first effort in verse, and that while recognizing its mediocre quality, he is printing it to assist a friend. After reading the play, we can accept this explanation and confirm his judgment. So far as we know, it was never performed.

From the Directory (1795–99) to the Restoration (1815–30), Picard was the true representative of the comedy of manners. In his comedies he pretends to correct, through laughter, the vices and foibles of his contemporaries. Allard[15] describes "La Noce sans mariage," with "Les Filles à marier," as "des pièces qui ne tiennent pas," but adds that they have many happy allusions, sentences and passages "qui les retiennent dans une atmosphère plausible." Picard tells us in his "Préface"[16] that nearly everything is anecdotal in "La Noce sans mariage" and that the idea came to him at the wedding of one of his relatives; the groom was really sick in this case; among the guests was a young doctor who, after treating the patient, returned to the feast which continued to be gay, in spite of the unfortunate occurrence. Picard states also that he knew well the original of Mme. de Péraudière, the wife of one of his friends who spent her spare moments bringing about marriages and reconciling families.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[15] Louis Allard, *La Comédie de mœurs en France au dix-neuvième siècle*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1923, Vol. I, p. 443.
[16] *Théâtre de L. B. Picard*, Paris, 1812, Vol. V, p. 5.

In Picard's play, young Cécile is being forced by her father, Duverdier, and his meddlesome cousin, Mme. de Péraudière, to marry Badoulard, over twice her age with a shadowy reputation for his business dealings and who is chiefly enamored of Cécile's large dowry. Cécile's young suitor, Blinval, takes steps to block the marriage, but is checked by Mme. de Péraudière, who has set her heart upon the union.

Goberville, Cécile's cousin and a physician, is also opposed to the marriage, but sees no good ground for interfering until he learns that Badoulard had already promised to marry a certain Mme. Gérard, who fortunately happens to be a friend of Cécile. The two women agree to discredit Badoulard, and Mme. Gérard threatens to sue him for breach of promise in view of his approaching marriage with Cécile. Badoulard believes himself sick, and Goberville takes advantage of the opportunity to exaggerate the gravity of his illness, hoping thus to delay the marriage. But Mme. de Péraudière marshals her forces, who include a lawyer, Précinet, who threatens Mme. Gérard with marriage with Badoulard if she presses her claim, and also Trotmann, a German doctor, or rather charlatan, who is to give an unbiased diagnosis of Badoulard's physical condition. Further complications follow, but Blinval's suit is in the ascendant, and finally he wins the promise of Cécile's hand when Badoulard is proved a swindler, and he wins the dowry as well, which had already been turned over to his rival.

In making his adaptation, Hartzenbusch cut down a five-act play to three, and substituted verse for prose. As in his original plays, Hartzenbusch employs the conventional metres in this comedy; the predominant verse form is the 'verso de romance', the favorite metre of the comedies of the period. There are fifty-four pages of 'verso de romance', only nine pages of 'redondillas', six pages of 'silvas', a form which he used only twice in his original plays, in "Los amantes de Teruel" and "La redoma encantada," and four pages of six-syllable 'romance', which he did not employ after 1843, the last time in "Las Batuecas." There seems to be no apparent reason why Hartzenbusch changes from one metre to another in this play, except perhaps for the sake of variety.

The subject is ill suited to verse, and Picard's lively, simple prose seems cramped in Hartzenbusch's lines which often betray an unsuccessful attempt at poetic diction. A number of scenes are omitted which do not bear directly upon the action, but some of these suppressed passages were useful in the French play in creating atmosphere and more complete portraits of certain characters. The servants' rôles were minimized, in accordance with Hartzenbusch's practice, and the two old bachelors, Dumont and Desroches, who furnish most of the humor of the third act of Picard's play, are omitted altogether. Their loss is a serious one and, moreover, hastens unduly the dénouement.

IX. Los polvos de la madre Celestina

"Los polvos de la madre Celestina," first published in 1840, is a comedy of magic in three acts in prose and verse, and was adapted freely from "Les Pilules du diable" (1839), a fairy comedy ('féerie') in three acts by Ferdinand Laloue, Anicet Bourgeois and Laurent.

Presented at a time when such spectacles were exceedingly popular in both France and Spain, this play proved more successful on the stage than all the other adaptations and translations combined of Hartzenbusch. The fact that another adaptation of the same play had already been presented in Saragossa[17] does not seem to have militated against the success of the new version. Apropos of Hartzenbusch's translation, the "Diario de Madrid" of January 10, 1841, speaks thus of the two versions:

"Pero observando la empresa que gran parte del espectáculo de dicho drama carecía del mérito de la novedad para el ilustrado público madrileño, consideró que era necesario hacer en el original una refundición completa. Las continuas refundiciones de que el refundidor lo ha sembrado, han tenido además de este objeto, el de formar un papel importante de gracioso para el señor don Antonio Guzmán, y el de dar a la fábula todo el carácter español que su estructura le ha permitido."

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[17] *El Entreacto* of September 5, 1839, refers to rehearsals of a play called *Las píldoras del diablo* for the theatre at Saragossa. The *Diario de Madrid* of January 10, 1841, also states that this translation was well received at Saragossa in 1839 and 1840. I have been unable to find a copy of this play.

Its first representation on January 11th, 1841, was followed by daily performances for exactly one month. The critic of "El Panorama" of January 13th, 1841, wrote enthusiastically:

"Ya han dicho sus milagros 'Los polvos de la madre Celestina.' El público ha aplaudido este brillante espectáculo, que promete larga vida y con ella abundantes entradas."

This prophecy was verified, for it was performed at least three hundred times before the death of Hartzenbusch in 1880.

In 1855 Hartzenbusch made a revision of his own adaptation. The plot itself was not changed in any important particular, but improvements were effected in the arrangement of certain scenes and new stage tricks were introduced by Eusebio Lucini. This recasting is superior dramatically to the version of 1840, and enjoyed a greater popularity. Like most of the comedies of magic, it was frequently performed on Sundays. The revision of 1855 was published in the second volume of Hartzenbusch's "Teatro" in the "Colección de escritores castellanos" (1888). The popularity of the play was so great that it was constantly referred to as an original composition, and the French original was forgotten.

The bare outline of the plot is particularly inadequate for a comedy of magic which necessarily depended chiefly upon stage machinery for its effects. Apparently, unity of action was the last requirement. The scene of "Les Pilules du diable" is laid in Madrid and its vicinity. The plot turns about the efforts of Albert, a French painter, to marry the fair Isabelle, whose father, the apothecary Seringuinos, insists that she marry the wealthy Sottinez. Isabelle refuses and is sent to a convent. The unhappy lover consults a sorceress named Sara who promises to make him rich if he will promise to meet her that night in her den. Albert accepts these conditions and receives some magic pills, the swallowing of one of which will enable him to accomplish any thing he desires. With this aid he has little difficulty in rescuing Isabelle from the convent and escaping from Seringuinos, Sottinez and other pursuers.

Albert, however, does not forget his appointment with Sara,

who is somewhat over a thousand years old, but has the power to recover her long-lost beauty and youth if she marries a young man. Albert declines this opportunity to do the lady a good turn and escapes with some difficulty to the square where Isabelle is awaiting him. There he finds another creature of supernatural power, La Folie, who promises to help the young lovers.

It seems unnecessary to describe the subsequent incidents of the preposterous contest of magic and sorcery between La Folie and her 'protégés' on the one hand and Sara and her minions on the other. Suffice it to say, lest the reader be unnecessarily alarmed, that Sara is finally tricked by La Folie and stripped of her power, the lovers are united, and their enemies are swallowed by a dragon!

Hartzenbusch made so thoroughgoing a revision of the French play that one might consider "Los polvos de la madre Celestina" almost an original composition. Many changes were made for the purpose of heightening the dramatic effect and new spectacular scenes were introduced with the aid of Eusebio Lucini, who had charge of the mechanical side of the production. The setting is Spain toward the end of the seventeenth century and the introduction of the well-known Celestina, who corresponds to Sara in the French play, but who is only two hundred and eighty-four years old, must have contributed to the popularity of the new version. Teresa is the sister-in-law instead of the daughter of the apothecary Nicomedus (Seringuinos), who is quite ready to marry Celestina himself, since her sorcery would be useful to him in his shop, but Celestina prefers a younger man! Evidently Hartzenbusch was not wholly lacking in a sense of humor.

Changes in taste make it difficult for the reader of today to understand the popularity in Spain of comedies of magic such as "Los polvos de la madre Celestina" and "La redoma encantada" and Grimaldi's "La pata de cabra," which always played to full houses and enjoyed much longer runs than more serious comedies. With regard to the first of these, we may say, however, that Hartzenbusch gave more dramatic unity to his plot and that in almost every respect he improved upon the original. The omission of the French couplets deprives his play of some

of the gayety of "Les Pilules du diable," but the smooth verse of Hartzenbusch gives his version an artistic finish that is lacking in the French play, although there are only twenty-nine pages of verse as compared to fifty-four pages of prose; the conventional verse forms are used as in his original compositions: the 'redondillas' for lyrical passages, and the 'verso de romance' and 'silvas' in narrative scenes. We may believe that Hartzenbusch himself did not take the plot too seriously and that he playfully expresses his own ideas about it in the words addressed by Celestina to the young lover García, who was also a poet:

> Señor poeta,
> un poco de cortesía;
> que de magia y poesía,
> yo no sé quién miente más.

X. El abuelito

This play, a one-act prose comedy, was first published in the year 1842. It is a translation of "Le bon Papa, ou la proposition de mariage" (1822), a one-act prose 'comédie-vaudeville' by Scribe and Mélesville.[18] Eugenio Hartzenbusch states his belief that it was first performed in 1842, but I have found no record of a public performance before June 3d, 1847, at the Teatro de Variedades, when it was announced as a new play. It was presented again on June 6th, and I have noted three announcements of additional performances in 1847, five in 1848, four in 1850, three in 1852, three in 1853, three in 1860, and a run of six consecutive nights in April, 1863.

Scribe is well known as the most prolific dramatist of his time. He was successful in all the 'genres' he attempted, from the 'vaudeville' to the comedy of manners, but especially in the 'comédie-vaudeville', which he himself developed to the perfection it attained during the first half of the nineteenth century. His theatre is the most complete and living expression of the society of his time and in his short plays, enlivened by joyous little songs, he ridicules the vices and laughs at the eccentricities

[18] E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

of his contemporaries. "Le bon Papa" is an attempt to give a sketch of contemporary life as the basis for an amusing plot. Mélesville is one of the best of his many collaborators.

"Le bon Papa" is in reality an indulgent grandfather, M. de Verbois, who cheerfully spends his time and money to insure the happiness of his grandchildren, Léonie and Adolphe. But Adolphe grieves because Henriette, the lady of his heart, is destined by her uncle, Saint-Villier, to marry a man more than twice her age with a large bank account. Adolphe has received so many favors from his grandfather that he cannot understand why the latter should not agree to announce himself as a suitor for Henriette's hand with the understanding that he should withdraw in favor of Adolphe immediately before the ceremony.

Verbois finally consents to this plan, but Henriette misinterprets a remark of Adolphe and in order to punish him, decides to accept Verbois. The indulgent grandfather is then confronted by the necessity of carrying out his part of the program, without the last-minute substitution that was planned, but he consoles himself with the thought that, after all, fifty-four years and marriage are not incompatible!

When Adolphe, heart-broken, announces his enlistment in the army, Henriette faints, and Adolphe throws himself at her feet with the result that one can readily conjecture. Grandfather comes to the rescue with a transfer of his money to Adolphe, which removes all obstacles to the marriage.

"El abuelito" is a close translation of the French play. The few omissions and changes that were made unify the plot, but in the Spanish version we miss the songs and some of the joyous humor that enliven the little French comedy.

XI. El novio de Buitrago

"El novio de Buitrago," a three-act prose comedy, written in collaboration with Eugenio González D'Apousa, was published in 1846 in the "Biblioteca Dramática," with the statement that it was first performed at the Teatro del Príncipe on November 14th, 1843, and this statement was repeated by Eugenio Hartzen-

busch.[19] I have found no record of a performance on that date and an announcement in the "Diario de Madrid" on November 22d of that year implies that it had not been presented before:

"Se pondrá en escena la comedia nueva, en tres actos, arreglada al teatro español por uno de nuestros primeros literatos."

It was performed on five consecutive evenings, November 22d to 26th, and never thereafter appeared on the stage. It is adapted from Picard's "Le Voyage interrompu" (1798).[20]

A problem is presented from the fact that some years before, Hartzenbusch had translated this play with the title "El viaje interrumpido" which was performed at the Teatro de Buenavista on March 6th, 7th and 8th, 1838, for the benefit of the actor, Fernando Guerra, according to announcements printed in the "Diario de Madrid" and again on March 11th, 1838. On these occasions, neither the name of the original author nor of the translator was mentioned, but there seems to be every reason to believe that it was Hartzenbusch's work, for Eugenio Hartzenbusch,[21] without giving the dates of the performances states that it was acted at that theatre. I have been unable to locate the manuscript of this version.

It is difficult to conjecture the share of González D'Apousa in the collaboration, for "El novio de Buitrago" has all the qualities of a Hartzenbusch translation. The announcement published on November 22d, 1843, in the "Diario de Madrid" states that this translation

"comprende un papel para el señor Don Julián Romea, y otro un poco inferior para el señor Don Antonio de Guzmán. . . ."

It is possible that González D'Apousa saw in Hartzenbusch's translation of 1838 suitable rôles for the actors above mentioned, and that with Hartzenbusch's permission, he presented it with a few changes and with a new title. It does not seem probable

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*

that Hartzenbusch should have recast a comedy which apparently had not been favorably received a few years before, and was not a success with the new title in 1843.

"Le Voyage interrompu" represents the transition in Picard's method from the comedy of intrigue to the comedy of manners; it alternates from farce to comedy. Part of it is anecdotal and Picard himself admits[22] that he only sketches personages he has seen and that there is neither profound observation nor painting of manners. The "Préface" to this play ends with an interesting and truthful statement:

"Ne sachant comment finir, je m'avisai de mettre une grande confusion parmi mes personnages. C'était la première fois que j'employais ce moyen. Il me réussit. Depuis, je crains bien d'en avoir abusé."

In this comedy, a young musician named Florimon and a young painter, Dorlis, accompanied by a youth named Victor, all en route to Italy, stop at Montargis, where Dorlis falls madly in love on seeing Sophie, daughter of Mme. Dercour. The young painter is timid and is unable to find an opportunity to make the acquaintance of the young lady, but by a trick, his companions secure for him an invitation to call, which is followed by Mme. Dercour's request that he paint portraits of the two ladies, and the portrait of Sophie's fiancé, La Mortillière, as well, who is due to arrive at Montargis on that very day.

Dorlis is disconcerted when he learns of his rival, but his resourceful companions meet La Mortillière and give him incorrect information regarding Mme. Dercour's house, and in the meantime Florimon presents himself at her home, passes himself off as La Mortillière, which can be done since the courtship had been conducted by correspondence, forces Dorlis to declare his love for Sophie, and then assumes the rôle of a generous friend and relinquishes all claim to Sophie, a change to which both mother and daughter assent.

La Mortillière has been thrown off the track by a remark that he has overheard and misinterprets, and when finally he sees

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[22] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 3–4.

Mme. Dercour and the other personages, he learns that Sophie loves Dorlis and withdraws to the relief of everyone.

The play ends with five couplets, one of which is interesting as showing the attitude of the writers of comedy of the time toward the sacrosanct unity of place:

> Autrefois on trouvait sublime
> Phèdre, le Tartuffe et Cinna,
> Nos drames et nos pantomimes
> Valent mieux que tout cela.
> Jadis un seul lieu pour la scène;
> Aujourd'hui de l'Inde à Paris,
> Et de l'enfer au paradis,
> La même pièce nous promène.

"El novio de Buitrago" receives its name from the town where Froilán (La Mortillière), the unsuccessful suitor, lives, and the scene of the action is transferred to Madrid. Aside from changes of minor importance, Hartzenbusch follows closely the original. The couplets at the end of the French play are replaced by a 'décima' in which Carlos (Dorlis) addresses the audience.

XII. La abadía de Penmarch

This drama is included among the translations and adaptations of Hartzenbusch because it is attributed to him on the title-page of the single edition in which it appeared, in 1844. On the other hand, Eugenio Hartzenbusch quotes the following note in his father's handwriting:

> "El drama titulado 'La abadía de Penmarch' fué traducido por D. Nemesio Fernández Cuesta, y fué corregido por mí, aunque no se expresó en la portada."[23]

The play is a direct translation of "L'Abbaye de Penmarch"[24] (1840), a melodrama in three acts by Tournemine and Thackeray.

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[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
[24] *Ibid.*

It has few of the characteristics of Hartzenbusch's adaptations; the prose is inferior in literary quality to that of his own works; the dialogue is often labored, and the action is slower than in Hartzenbusch's translations. Perhaps we may discover his hand in the omission of songs, the elimination of brutality and the moralizing upon the misdeeds of the villain which are punished by death.

So far as I could learn, it was performed only three evenings, from July 23d to the 25th of the year 1844. The only criticism that I could find[25] was quite non-committal.

XIII. Floresinda

"Floresinda," a five-act tragedy in verse and published in 1844, is an imitation of Voltaire's well-known "Adélaïde du Guesclin" (1734),[26] in five acts and in verse, in which the chivalrous and romantic Middle Ages take the place of the Greco-Roman world of classical tragedy; this is one of several innovations introduced by Voltaire to revive interest in that 'genre'. Referring to "Le Philosophe sans le savoir" of Sedaine, Lenient states that

> "le fameux épisode des trois coups frappés à la porte est resté, avec le coup de canon d' 'Adelaïde du Guesclin', un des grands effets scéniques du XVIIIe siècle."[27]

The scene of the French play is Lille, and the background is the struggle of the English against the young prince who later became King Charles VII of France during the Hundred Years War. On the English side is fighting the passionate and impetuous Duc de Vendôme, with whom his devoted friend, the Sire de Coucy, uses every argument to dissuade him from disloyalty to his king. As a last resort, he appeals for aid to Adélaïde du Guesclin, whom Vendôme ardently loves, for he feels sure that should Adélaïde accept him, Vendôme would fight under French

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[25] *Revista de Teatros*, July 25, 1844.
[26] Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *Floresinda*, Madrid, 1844, footnote, p. 52.
[27] Charles Lenient, *La comédie en France au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1898, Vol. II, p. 287.

colors. This course involves a sacrifice for himself, because Coucy, too, is enamored of the fair Adélaïde. The latter rejects Coucy's proposal, alleging that she will not marry a traitor, but she has a more potent reason which she does not disclose: she is in love with Vendôme's brother, the Duc de Nemours, who is fighting in the French army. Vendôme, however, does not consider her refusal as final, and misinterprets her pity for him as affection.

Nemours, wounded in battle, is brought before Vendôme and bitterly accuses him of disloyalty to king and country. Besides, he is overwhelmed by seeing Adélaïde in Vendôme's camp. The latter again declares his love, Adélaïde refuses to accept it, and Vendôme, furious, threatens to kill his rival, whoever he may be. Adélaïde plays for time by implying to him that she might accept his love if he should join the French cause. Finally, in a dramatic scene, Nemours confesses that he is the man whom Adélaïde loves, and asks only that he be put to death before his brother marries Adélaïde.

An enemy attack interrupts the action, but on his return, Vendôme issues orders for the execution of Nemours. Scarcely has the command been given when Vendôme relents; but the famous cannon shot, intended to announce Nemour's death, is heard; fortunately, however, Coucy killed the executioner as the latter was about to strike Nemours; Vendôme, repentant, joins the lovers and announces that hereafter he belongs wholly to France.

The playwright[28] states that in 1827 he had translated Voltaire's tragedy with different personages and title and that it was revised in 1830. The title of the 1827 imitation, according to Ferrer del Río, was "Doña Leonor de Cabrera" with the scene laid in Spain during the reign of Don Pedro so that the censor might not recognize it as a translation from Voltaire, and that later he gave new names to the characters when he placed the action in the seventh century in the time of Wamba. Ferrer del Río and Ochoa also explain as follows the change made by Hartzenbusch in the dénouement of the French play. The

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[28] *Floresinda*, footnote, *op. cit.*

previous year, "Abufar"[29] of Ducis had been presented in Madrid and failed to please because it ended in two marriages and no death. This led the translator of Voltaire to conclude his play with the death of the heroine and Vitimiro (Vendôme).

Ochoa adds that Hartzenbusch could not persuade the theatrical managers of Madrid to accept his new version called "Floresinda," in the year 1834, and comments on this as follows:

"Mejor acogida merecía en mi concepto una obra que, prescindiendo de otras muchas cualidades recomendables, tiene la tan esencial en España de abundar en hermosos versos."

Possibly Voltaire's tragedy was not sufficiently romantic to suit the tastes of the times, or perhaps the name of the original became known. At all events, it was never performed publicly. Eugenio Hartzenbusch conjectures[30] that its first title was "Vitimiro." Hartzenbusch himself[31] made the following explanation regarding the changes made in the original:

"Las alteraciones que se notan en ella con respecto al original provienen de que en las citadas épocas estaba prohibido, no solo traducir, sino aun leer a Voltaire, autor de 'Adelaida,' y de que en 'Floresinda' fué donde escribió sus primeros versos dramáticos el traductor."

As we have seen, Hartzenbusch selected a new setting for his translation: the period of civil war that followed upon the crowning of Wamba as king of the Visigoths toward the end of the seventh century, whose right to the throne was contested in Gothic Gaul. The action is laid in enemy territory, at Narbonne, which is held by the violent Vitimiro who had left Toledo in anger and joined the Gallic Goths under the command of the pretender, Paul. With Vitimiro is the young Floresinda who has inspired love in him, but she is still loyal to Wamba, and furthermore, she is in love with Leandro, Vitimiro's brother. A friend of Vitimiro, Recadero, has also accompanied the rebel

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[29] *Abufar ou la famille arabe* (1795), translated by Dionisio Solís with the title of *Zeidar o la familia árabe.*

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

[31] *Floresinda*, footnote, *op. cit.*

to Gaul, in spite of the fact that he is still faithful to Wamba, and in order to win back Vitimiro to the cause of Wamba, he proposes to Floresinda that she accept Vitimiro's love on condition that he renew his allegiance to the Visigothic king. The fact that Recadero himself is in love with Floresinda does not deter him from making this proposal.

It may be seen, then, that the chief characters in the two plays closely correspond. As in Voltaire's tragedy, they are for the most part fictitious, but Hartzenbusch found a new background in the accounts of Mariana and other Spanish chroniclers and historians of the revolt of Hilderic and Paul against Wamba, and among the leaders of it he read of Vitimiro whose portrait—and not a very attractive one—had been already painted in the "Primera Crónica General."

Hartzenbusch followed closely Voltaire's tragedy until he reached the dénouement which he felt obliged to change; in the French play, Adélaïde declares that she will die rather than accept the love of Vendôme, but Voltaire preferred to reach a solution through the triumph of reason over passion rather than through the death of his heroine. Hartzenbusch's dénouement accords better with the tendencies of romantic drama. In order to save herself from the union with Vitimiro, whom she does not love, Floresinda drinks poison, and Vitimiro, horrified and conscience-stricken at her act, kills himself. The Spanish play, therefore, represents the tragic consequences of love and passion, as opposed to the triumph of right as found in the French tragedy.

"Floresinda" is the only play of Hartzenbusch written exclusively in the hendecasyllabic 'romance heroico', the metre usually employed in the classical tragedies of the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example the "Pelayo" of Quintana, "Lanuza" of the Duque de Rivas and "Edipo" and "La viuda de Padilla" of Martínez de la Rosa.

XIV. El doctor Capirote o los curanderos de antaño

"El doctor Capirote o los curanderos de antaño," a one-act comedy in prose, was first performed on December 24th, 1846,

at the Teatro de Variedades, and had a run of nine performances. It had five additional presentations in the year 1847, the last time on December 5th, and was then withdrawn. A critic writing in "El Español" of January 1st, 1847, says that

" 'El doctor Capirote' es un sainete algo fastidioso en su primer tercio, aunque después hace reír."

It was printed by Lalama in 1850.

"El doctor Capirote" is a close translation of "Les Empiriques d'autrefois" (1825) by Scribe and Alexandre.[32] Scribe's collaborator on this occasion was an elderly schoolmistress who presented a play to the dramatist for criticism.[33] When he learned that she was in urgent need of money, he not only revised her manuscript but paid out of his own pocket a considerable part of her royalties since the play had no great success.

The setting of the French play is the province of La Mancha in the year 1525. After two charlatans, Gaspard and Robert, have been driven away from a town as sorcerers, with the loss of all their possessions, they meet by chance a certain Pédrille, who has just recuperated from wounds received at the battle of Pavia; he was given up for dead at home, but is now returning to his native village of Rocco after an absence of six years. It occurs to Gaspard that they may be able to fill their empty pockets by announcing they have the power to bring back to life certain persons and, as they had anticipated, there is also someone to pay them well if they allow a dead rival or enemy to rest in his grave.

When they reach Rocco, Estelle applies to Gaspard to resuscitate Pédrille, whom she had loved before he entered the army, and since he has long been considered dead, her parents are forcing her to marry a certain Gregorio. There is no prospect of money in this case, for Gregorio knows nothing of Estelle's request, and, of course, the two swindlers know nothing of Pédrille's identity. Their escape has been cut off by a crowd

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[32] E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[33] N. C. Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre* (1815–1860), Cambridge, 1924, pp. 25–26.

that has become suspicious of their good faith. Pédrille helps them in their predicament by telling them who he is; Gaspard then promises that the dead soldier will be brought to life, and after going through a rigmarole, Pédrille appears in the flesh, much to the amazement of Estelle and her companions. But the charlatans are obliged to leave the village in haste as there are others in the crowd who fear their own rivals may be resuscitated in similar fashion.

Hartzenbusch closely followed the original play, but transferred the scene to another village in the province of Cuenca, and changed the date to 1557, the year of the battle of San Quentin. The two swindlers become, quite appropriately, Andalusians. Much of the gayety of the French 'vaudeville' is lost by Hartzenbusch's suppression of the songs.

XV. Los dos maridos

This is a prose-comedy in one act translated from "Les deux Maris" (1819) by Scribe and Varner;[34] it was first performed on April 28th, 1847, and on April 29th, 30th, May 3d and May 25th of the same year. The "Crónica" of the "Semanario Pintoresco Español" for May 9th, 1847, reads as follows:

"El Teatro de Variedades ha ofrecido dos novedades dramáticas, 'Los dos maridos' y 'El usurero,' que si no tienen nada de notable, lograron por lo menos divertir a los espectadores."

The play was published by Lalama in 1848. Eugenio Hartzenbusch mentions an edition of 1850, but this is probably an error.

Scribe's play is a jumble of complications that exceed all bounds of credibility. The young Élise was married while still at school, and for family considerations, to M. de Sénange, who deserted her immediately after the ceremony. Quite unnaturally she had forgotten this incident of her girlhood, but now she has received a letter from a friend to the effect that her husband will arrive that very day at the château, but in disguise so that he may study his wife at leisure. Fearing the result of this

[34] E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

scrutiny, Élise decides to pass herself off as a friend of the mistress of the house.

It chances, as things happen in Scribe's fertile brain, that a traveler named Rigaud asks for hospitality, and one of the servants, mistaking him for the missing husband, tells him of the part Élise is assuming and recognizes him as master of the house.

Rigaud is well satisfied with his good fortune, until Sénange appears, accompanied by none other than Mme. Rigaud, who, however, passes herself off as Sénange's wife. The dénouement of this tangle is reached, of course, in the true love that springs up between Sénange and Élise and the revelation that they are already married.

It is difficult to understand why Hartzenbusch should have chosen this worthless play as deserving of translation. It evidently pleased him, however, for he followed his original closely, limiting himself to a few insignificant changes and the omission of the songs.

XVI. Jugar por tabla

We may suppose that Hartzenbusch had grown weary, at least temporarily, of insipid farces, for in his next adaptation from the French he turned to Émile Augier's well-known "Gabrielle" which had been performed with success in 1849. He must have set to work on this translation without delay, for "Jugar por tabla," a verse comedy in three acts, written in collaboration with Luis Valladares y Carriga and Cayetano Rossell, was first performed at the Teatro Español on December 18th, 1850. It was published by Omana, either a few days before or after that date.

"Gabrielle," often styled the masterpiece of the School of Common Sense in France, is a final blow to the undisciplined passions of Romanticism, the false ideal of which Augier unmasks. The theme is the salvation of the family threatened with destruction by romantic passions and with this play true comedy reappears in France. Augier, however, was not an innovator, for more than twenty years before, Scribe had shown the superiority of reason and common sense over imagination and sentiment in

"Le Mariage de raison" (1826) and "Malvina" (1828) in which he defended the solid virtues of the home.

Julien Chabrière, an ambitious young lawyer, is devoted to the interests of his wife, Gabrielle, and their little daughter, Camille, but fails to observe that Gabrielle, who regards marriage as merely a protracted honeymoon, is pining for a more sentimental form of affection than her husband offers. The latter's secretary, Stéphane, has already offered to fill this gap in her existence, and while outwardly Gabrielle remains faithful to Julien, she betrays undue interest in Stéphane.

Circumstances conspire to bring the lovers closer together, and finally Julien learns by chance of the relationship between them. But he does not seek out the guilty pair to punish them for this affront to his honor as the conventions of romantic drama required; instead, he seeks to strengthen the bond that already exists between himself and his wife and friend. He appeals to Stéphane's better nature by confiding to him that Gabrielle seems to have become indifferent to him, and asks his help in winning again her affection.

Stéphane hesitates, but finally reveals to Julien that he is leaving the house so that he may be free to love without restrictions, whereupon Julien, pretending that he is ignorant of the true situation, pictures to him in eloquent terms the tragic consequences of a guilty love, and begs him to talk it over with Gabrielle. The latter then realizes the nobility of Julien's character, bids a mute farewell to Stéphane, and begs her husband's forgiveness for her disloyalty. This is promptly accorded, and extending her hand to Julien, Gabrielle exclaims:

"O père de famille! ô poète! je t'aime!"

The husband and father at last had come into his own on the French stage!

The title chosen for the Spanish translation is not particularly appropriate. "Jugar por tabla," a term used in billiards which may be translated "to bank the cue ball," evidently alludes to the fact that when Julien warned Stéphane of the serious consequences of his love for a married woman, he was attempting

to reach his objective by indirect means. The words of the title occur for the first time in the closing scene of the Spanish version in which one of the characters asks for an explanation of the reconciliation of husband and wife, and Fernando (Julien) replies:

> Ganar
> Un partido de billar
> Sólo con jugar por tabla.

This is a trivial answer in view of the high stakes for which the husband was playing, and for which there is nothing to correspond in the French play. A critic writing in the "Correo de los Teatros" on December 30th, 1850, objected to the title of this version of "Gabrielle" on the ground that it gives a very false idea of its character and of its profoundly moral and philosophical teachings.

Compression of the five acts of the French play into three necessitated a few adjustments, but broadly speaking, the first two acts of "Gabrielle" correspond to the first of "Jugar por tabla," and the third and fourth of the French comedy are included in the second act of the Spanish version. The last act in the two plays correspond scene by scene. The Spanish translators eliminated entirely the rôle of Camille, the little daughter, who is an important factor in Augier's plea for the inviolability of the marriage bond. She is referred to in the Spanish version, but her actual presence in the French play serves to awaken the sympathy of the audience and reader, and to impress upon them that she will be the chief victim if a break should occur between her parents. Furthermore, in one critical scene in Augier's play, when Gabrielle is ready to abandon home and husband and to entrust her destiny to Stéphane, the sudden appearance of Camille recalls to her the old associations and her duties as mother and wife. The reaction is a perfectly natural one, and is more human and more credible than the reawakened sense of honor which is substituted for it in the Spanish play.

The elimination of Camille's part is only one indication of the change in attitude on the part of the translators with respect to

the moral problems presented in Augier's play. There the crisis comes as a result of Gabrielle's failure to appreciate Julien's fine qualities, and she is only brought to a realization of them after both have passed through a trial of fire that leaves her stripped of dross and Julien unscathed. In the Spanish version, Fernando is far less attractive than Julien and awakens little sympathy. He is cold, self-complacent and self-centered, believing that he satisfies his obligations by providing his wife, Sofía, with material comforts. Sofía, on the other hand, is merely restless, without any decided affection for Carlos, but eager to escape from a situation that she regards as intolerable. The Spanish translators apparently failed to understand the full purport of Augier's message. Their play turns on an awakened sense of honor, which had been employed countless times before on the stage, while Augier's comedy reveals a conception of the marriage tie that was comparatively new.

With respect to this translation Eugenio Hartzenbusch quotes[35] a note from the manuscript of the play to the effect that his father arranged the first act, collaborated in the last, and that there is scarcely a verse by him in the second act. According to the manuscript Cayetano Rossell is mentioned as author of the third act. The second act was probably composed by Valladares. The superiority of the first act, both with respect to dramatic technique and purity of language, confirms this statement regarding the extent of Hartzenbusch's collaboration.

With the single exception of "Los polvos de la madre Celestina," "Jugar por tabla" had more performances than any other of Hartzenbusch's adaptations. After its first presentation on December 18th, 1850, it ran for six consecutive evenings, was performed again on January 2d and 3d, and had twenty-six additional performances in the year 1851, five in 1852, two in 1854, seven in 1856, five in 1857, three in 1860, two in 1863, one in 1868, two in 1870, one in 1871 and two in 1879. Toward the end of 1859 it was also performed in Barcelona.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

At the close of the play Fernando recites the following verses:

> Esta comedia de tres,
> por encargo fabricada,
> señores, está sacada
> de otra en idioma francés.
> Diferente a veces es,
> y a veces no es diferente:
> allá un público indulgente
> la recibió con extremos;
> aquí nos contentaremos
> con que pase. . . .buenamente.

Probably these verses were omitted after the producers saw the success of the play, for some of the critics seem to have assumed that it was an original play, while others voiced approval whether it was original or a translation, of which they seemed uncertain themselves. A critic in "Las Novedades" of December 19th, 1850, refers to it as one of the best comedies ever performed in Madrid's leading theatre, characterizing it as

"no sólo una obra acabada bajo el punto de vista literario, sino un buen modelo, que creemos se apresurarán a estudiar los que aspiren a brillar en la escena. Su plan bien combinado y desarrollado con maestría, las situaciones interesantes en que abunda, sus animados diálogos, correcta y flúida versificación, hacen de la obra que examinamos una de las mejores que se han puesto en escena en el antiguo coliseo del Príncipe. . . Los espectadores aplaudieron con entusiasmo y llamaron a los autores a las tablas."

A critic of the "Correo de los Teatros" of December 22d, 1850, spoke of the great success of the play, and a week later made the following statement which is interesting in view of the frank confession of indebtedness to a French model made in the epilogue:

"Al público, por lo visto, le importa poco que dicha obra sea original de autores españoles, como quieren éstos mismos, o sea traducción de alguna obra francesa, como quieren los redactores del 'Clamor'; el caso es que ella agrada a los espectadores y que ninguno la censura; luego la obra es buena y merece presenciarse."

Probably this is merely an error on the critic's part, for the following day the same newspaper refers to the play as an adaptation of "Gabrielle." Due to the lyrical character of the subject, there are thirty-six pages of 'redondillas' in "Jugar por tabla," the metrical form usually employed by Hartzenbusch in lyrical passages, in original plays and translations alike, as compared to twenty-seven pages of 'verso de romance', the predominant metre for descriptions and narratives. There are only two and a half pages of 'quintillas' in a scene between Carlos and Sofía in which the emotional tension is very high.

XVII. El padre pródigo

In this play, a five-act comedy in prose, written in collaboration with Cayetano Rossell and printed in 1861, the Spanish adapters turned again to the French 'théâtre d'idées', represented by the serious comedies of Augier and Dumas the younger, and found a fitting subject in "Un Père prodigue" of the latter, which had been performed two years before.

Dumas here presents the problem of a spendthrift libertine whose moral equilibrium is restored by his affection for his son. The Comte de la Rivonnière has spent his time and fortune in riotous living, and has encouraged his son, André, to follow his example. The youth, however, has sufficient good sense to know that the family funds are at low ebb and that ruin confronts them unless his father's proclivities are checked. As first steps toward the restoration of the family's fortunes, he proposes that his father turn over to him control of the little money that remains, and that he marry a certain Mme. Godefroy, a middle-aged widow.

Rivonnière, who is deeply attached to his son, makes no objection to the transfer of funds, but balks at the proposal to marry Mme. Godefroy, declaring that he prefers young Hélène de Brignac for whom he already felt an affectionate interest. André accepts this counter proposal and sets off for Dieppe to lay the case before Hélène, but he is so struck by her beauty that he asks a mutual friend to make this odd proposal to her. Rivonnière overhears by chance Hélène's description of the sort

of man she would like to marry and realizes that this description tallies exactly with André. He generously withdraws in favor of his son, and the marriage of Hélène and André follows without delay. The father goes to live with them.

André, however, is not yet sure that his father has turned over a new leaf, and when he returns home after a few days' absence and finds that his father and wife had been seen frequently together in public, he remonstrates with him, thereby deeply wounding Rivonnière's feelings. The latter, in order to test his son's attachment for him, announces that he is going away on a long trip, and when André seems to welcome this, the Count leaves his son's home, convinced that he is no longer loved by him.

Rivonnière, left alone without the moral support of André, promptly falls into the clutches of the scheming 'demi-mondaine', Albertine, but he is still ready to prove his love for André and fights a duel, with the husband of André's former mistress, in order to save his son's honor and peace of mind. By this time, too, he had become aware of Albertine's baseness, and he returns, chastened, to André's home. When André whispers to him that a child is soon to be born to Hélène, Rivonnière replies:

"Aime-le comme je t'aime! mais ne l'élève pas comme je t'ai élevé."

In the Spanish adaptation, the main outlines of the plot are faithfully followed, but the French play is materially abridged by the suppression of scenes and dialogue that do not contribute directly to the dénouement. The motivation of the love of Luis (André) for Elena (Hélène) is more satisfactory in the Spanish version, and in certain respects the element of dramatic suspense is more effective, but in the main it may be said that the changes and omissions of the Spanish version have merely transformed a powerful 'pièce à thèse' into a comedy of situations. Many of the cuts deprive us of information given in the French play, which we need in order to understand thoroughly the characters. The first act of the original, which contains the carefully planned exposition, was cut from fifty-six to twenty-

six pages, and the scene in which Rivonnière explains to André his reasons for choosing his companions as he had done and his deep love for him, was reduced from forty-eight lines to a paltry six. As a result, the father in the Spanish play seems actuated merely by selfish motives, and awakens little sympathy. Another radical change was made in adapting the personage of Albertine. Carlota, who represents the same rôle in the adaptation, is not a scheming courtesan. It is not Rivonnière's money that she covets, but the name of honest woman which marriage would confer upon her. She longs for a position of respectability; the scheming 'demi-mondaine' was not yet acceptable to Spanish audiences.

Possibly the adapters believed that Madrid audiences were not interested in a thesis play, and therefore were ready to sacrifice character portrayal and the discussion of ideas in order to write a comedy of situations, but if this was their object, they failed, at least, to produce a work acceptable to the managers, for so far as we know, it was never performed in Madrid. Eugenio Hartzenbusch[36] declares that it was performed in Barcelona, a statement I have not been able to confirm. A letter from Hartzenbusch, dated January 24th, 1861, addressed to Don Manuel Catalina, shows us that he expected it to be performed:

"Con fecha del 4 del corriente fué aprobada para la representación por el censor y por el Gobernador de Madrid la comedia 'El padre pródigo' que Rossell y yo hemos arreglado a la escena española. . .Recomiendo a la bondad de Ud. esa obra que por la prisa que se dió a copiar a personas que ni la copiaron pronto ni bien, por lo cual dudo que alguna vez haya Ud. podido entenderla. Pero Ud. puede remediar fácilmente cualquier descuido que en esto haya, y así se lo suplico. . ."[37]

It is difficult to judge the extent of Hartzenbusch's collaboration in this play. The diction has few of the characteristics of his style, and we may be justified in assuming that he merely made suggestions, or prepared an outline of the plot. That his

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[37] Manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional, No. 1296 1–73.

part was secondary is evident from the fact that his name appears after that of Cayetano Rossell, and in smaller type, on the title-page.

In addition to the plays above mentioned, Hartzenbusch made five other adaptations from the French. These are preserved only in manuscript form and were, perhaps, never presented.[38] Since we have no data on the date of their composition, it is impossible to arrange them in chronological order.

XVIII. Olindo y Sofronia

"Olindo y Sofronia," a heroic drama in five acts and prose,[39] is a translation, made in collaboration with Juan Manuel González Acevedo, of Sébastien Mercier's "Olinde et Sophronie," first played in 1771, and based in turn upon the well-known incident of the second canto of Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered." Tasso's book had been translated into the French at least ten times, the last time in 1725.[40]

Mercier stands alone among his contemporaries. He was perhaps the most radical innovator of the last years of the old Régime; in his hands the 'drame bourgeois' developed into a popular spectacle for the enjoyment of the crowd; he revolted against the arbitrary formulas of the classical theatre and in his "Traité de théâtre ou Nouvel essai sur l'art dramatique" (1773) he declared that the old dramatic system had to change, that the drama must exist for the pleasure and the instruction of the crowd and for the utility of the state and society, not merely for the enjoyment of the privileged classes. This revolt had been presaged by the 'drames' he wrote before 1773, especially by "Olinde et Sophronie," which he calls a 'drame héroïque,

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[38] The manuscripts of these plays are preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional in the custody of Señor Don Francisco Rodríguez Marín.

[39] E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–37, gives brief extracts from the Spanish translation.

[40] Gustave Lanson, *Manuel Bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*, Paris, 1910, pp. 101, 138, 303, 438.

but the subject of which is no less classical than Voltaire's "Zaïre" or "Adélaïde du Guesclin." Mercier wrote his play in prose in order to present a truer picture of life; he violates the unity of place and chooses representatives of the people for his heroes, a characteristic entirely absent from classical tragedy. He follows the example of Shakespeare whom he greatly admired, in writing for the crowd, and like him, he used the monologue in detailing the inner struggle. In his 'drames historiques' he adapted history to the sentiments of the people long before Népomucène Lemercier's "Pinto" (1800). In theory and practice he is a true precursor of Romanticism; he came too early, however, and lacked dramatic ability. Gaiffe states[41] that it is impossible to represent his plays and though he wrote about sixty of them, only three or four were represented. His main fault is that of the 'drame bourgeois': too much moralizing.

In "Olinde et Sophronie" we find in the immediate entourage of Aladin, Mohammedan King of Jerusalem, the High-Priest Ismen, a Christian renegade who bitterly hates the people of his old faith; a youth named Olinde, born of Christian parents who fights in Aladin's army, but has secret leanings toward the Christians, and a charming maiden named Sophronie, also born of Christian parents for she is Ismen's own daughter, though this fact is not known to her nor to the High Priest.

Ismen, wishing to bring about a wholesale slaughter of the Christians, mutilates the copy of the Koran exhibited in the mosque, and then announces to Aladin that it was the deed of some Christian. The king, incensed at the sacrilege, declares that all the Christians in Jerusalem must die unless the guilty party confesses. Sophronie, inspired by a desire to sacrifice herself to save her co-religionists, declares that she is guilty, but Olinde, who has been given reason to understand that she returns his love, announces that Sophronie is innocent, since he alone is responsible for the deed. Ismen is more interested in securing a general massacre of the Christians than merely in the sacrifice of two victims, and urges them to withdraw their statements, but both persist in affirming their guilt.

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[41] F. Gaiffe, *Le drame en France au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1910, p. 210.

Clorinde, princess of Persia, and one of Aladin's most trusted warriors, then appears, to save Olinde whom she loves, but the youth tells her that he loves Sophronie and will die with her. Clorinde, however, still remains devoted to Olinde, and as the pyre is kindled, she presents an order from Aladin to stay the execution of Olinde. In the altercation that follows, Clorinde stabs Ismen with her lance; Sophronie casts herself upon her dying father, declaring that he is saved since she has seen him weep, and Ismen confesses his own guilt. Clorinde then unites Olinde and Sophronie, and bids them join the army of Godefroi which is outside the gates of the city.

In addition to the usual reduction and compression of scenes commonly found in Hartzenbusch's adaptations, a number of changes may be mentioned which are important from the point of view of dramatic technique. In the first place, Olinde learns the secret of Sophronie's relationship to Ismen in the second scene of the first act, while this is withheld in the Spanish version until the closing scene when Sofronia casts herself upon the dying Ysmen, calling him father. In both plays, Sophronia herself does not learn this secret until the final scene. This change made by the translators in order to provide a surprise feature in the dénouement is characteristic of Hartzenbusch's practice as found in such plays as "Alfonso el Casto," "Primero yo," "El bachiller Mendarias" and "Honoria."

An effective change was also made in the opening scene of the second act. In the French play, Sophronie has merely heard of the edict against the Christians, and thereupon determines to sacrifice herself to save them. In the translation, the edict, written upon a piece of parchment and hanging from a lance-head, is presented on the stage, and before it a number of Christians, men, women and children, pass, lamenting their hard fate. When Sofronia declares that she will offer herself as a victim, they take tender farewell to her. This creates an atmosphere that the French play lacks, and at the same time arouses a feeling of pity in behalf of the intrepid maiden.

Hartzenbusch, ever a moralist, introduced an important change in the dénouement. Instead of meeting death at the hands of Clorinda, Ysmen commits suicide in the Spanish version. Thus

he himself makes atonement for his miserable deeds, an idea that Hartzenbusch also employed in two original dramas, "Doña Mencía" and "Primero yo." And although in some respects Clorinda plays a more heroic part in the Spanish play, she is more sentimental than Clorinde in expressing her love for Olindo. For these reasons, the translators, in our opinion, improved upon Mercier's play, for it has many fine qualities. Its failure to be produced probably indicates that when Hartzenbusch wrote, it was too late to revive this type of eighteenth century melodrama.

XIX. Don Junípero Bausán, o ¡Cómo se pasa el tiempo!

This little comedy in one act and in prose, is adapted from Picard's "Monsieur Musard, ou Comme le temps passe,"[42] first presented in 1803. It is exceptional for Picard to use individual types as he does in "Monsieur Musard," the great merit of which is in the true psychological observation. The play was very successful for as Picard himself remarks, while everyone admits that he recognizes a little of himself in M. Musard, no one admits that he is a gambler, or a miser, but it is not dishonorable to be an idler. The subject was furnished by a friend who praised highly to Picard the happiness of a man who wastes his time doing nothing. Picard retained everything his friend told him and even used his words in the dialogue.[43]

M. Musard is a merchant of Saint-Quentin whose sheer joy in doing nothing has caused his downfall in business and he has come to Paris to repair his fortunes. But he still remains a cheerful loiterer who plays with the goldfish instead of going to the office, works at charades in a newspaper in competition for a prize instead of meeting his business engagements, and uses his pockets as a file for his unanswered letters.

Fortunately for him, as it turns out, his old competitor in business, M. Lerond, has come to Paris to help him, not because there is any love lost between them, but because Lerond wishes

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[42] E. Hartzenbusch, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The statement is there made that the translation was first given the title of *El Dejado.*

[43] *Théâtre de L. B. Picard, op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181–82.

his daughter, Sophie, to marry Eugène, Musard's son. Chance gives Lerond a good point of vantage to work out his plans, for he finds that he has secured an apartment in the hotel occupied by Musard and his family.

In Musard's absence, Lerond learns that Musard's troubles are due to the fact that the latter stows away in his pockets his business letters, and in the meantime the young lovers have an opportunity to exchange what is on their minds. Finally, Lerond secured Musard's promise to accept Eugène as a member of his firm, which will assure prompt attention to letters, and the marriage of the young people is agreed upon. Musard, his business affairs disentangled, thanks to Lerond, is well satisfied with his day's work and he pulls out his watch, and exclaims with surprise:

"Comme le temps passe quand on s'occupe!"

The Spanish version offers only divergences of detail from the original. The scene is transferred to Madrid and the personages are natives of Alicante, but little attempt is made to give the play a Spanish atmosphere, although it is true that local color is sought in substituting a blind beggar singing a Moorish ballad for the Italian street singers of the French play. Much of the sprightly wit of the original comedy is lost by Hartzenbusch's omission of humorous passages, above all the references to the luncheon to be enjoyed by the two reconciled families.

In the catalogue of Bretón's works[44] is listed a comedy in one act with the title "Cómo se pasa el tiempo;" it is described as a translation; neither the date of the translation nor the name of the original play are given, and I have not been able to locate the manuscript. It is therefore impossible to state whether it owed anything to Picard's little comedy.

XX. El espíritu de contradicción

This is a one-act comedy in prose, translated from Charles Rivière Dufresny's "L'Esprit de contradiction" (1700). Eugenio Hartzenbusch[45] believes that it was represented in the

[44] *Obras de Bretón de los Herreros*, Madrid, 1883–84, Vol. I, p. XXIX.
[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

private theatre of the Calle de Enhoramala Vayas, later called Travesía de la Parada.

The short comedies of situations of Dufresny, another imitator of Molière, were more successful than his longer comedies of character, but at best they are inferior to those of Regnard and Dancourt. "L'Esprit de contradiction" is one of the best of his short plays and is one of the three or four which were presented; because of its witty dialogue and rapid action it belonged to the repertory of the Théâtre Français until near the end of the eighteenth century.

Young Angélique has two suitors, Thibaudois, a wealthy man of middle age who makes up in bank account what he lacks in refinement, and Valère, a young man of good family, who has already won Angélique's heart. Her father wishes her to marry, but is afraid to say so, because Mme. Oronte has a mania for contradiction and is certain to oppose anything her husband wishes. It is suggested to Oronte that if he maintains an indifferent attitude toward Angélique's marriage, his wife will surely urge it, and this conjecture is verified as soon as the experiment is made.

Oronte is now ready to take the second step. He wishes Angélique to marry Thibaudois, and therefore announces to his wife that their daughter must marry Valère. Mme. Oronte at once becomes the champion of Thibaudois, until an anonymous letter reveals to her that she is being tricked and she then insists upon marriage with Valère, and in spite of Angélique's feigned protests, signs the marriage contract. When she learns that she has been duped, she threatens to punish all those concerned in the trick.

As may be seen, the plot of this play has little merit; it is redeemed by Dufresny's witty dialogue which Hartzenbusch failed to reproduce. In accordance with his usual practice, the translator transferred the setting to Spain, and a few unimportant scenes have been omitted. The two plots are essentially the same, but Hartzenbusch makes an effort to tone down the coarseness of some of the characters in the French play. Little of the humor of the original is sacrificed by making Mme. Oronte more refined and Thibaudois less vulgar. Their lack of good

breeding doubtless was offensive to Hartzenbusch's sense of propriety. But the translation, at best, is mediocre and was hardly deserving of performance.

XXI. Aviso a las casadas

On the first page of the manuscript this play is described as a comedy in three acts, translated from the French, but Hartzenbusch completed only the first act; it is written in prose. It is, without doubt, an adaptation of Act I of "La nouvelle École des femmes," a three-act comedy in prose of Alexandre Guillaume Mouslin de Moissy, first presented in 1758. De Moissy's play is a dramatized anecdote, meant to entertain rather than to moralize, unlike most of the comedies with the title "École—" which were so common in the eighteenth century. The anonymous compiler of "Anecdotes dramatiques"[46] states that the subject was suggested by an anecdote in the fourth volume of a forgotten collection entitled "Amusement du cœur et de l'esprit." Lenient[47] says that the story is attributed to Ninon de Lenclos and he also states that de Moissy boasted of being the first dramatist to put "une femme entretenue" on the stage; but de Moissy's courtesan is chaste in the scenes in which she appears, as at that time the unscrupulous adulteress would not have been tolerated on the stage.

Although sympathetic to the unhappiness of his wife, Mélite, Saint-Fard continues to devote all his attention to Laure, his mistress. The unsophisticated Mélite loves her husband too much to seek vengeance against Saint-Fard's faithlessness and flatly rejects Le Chevalier des Usages, a friend of the family and Laure's former lover, who begs her to reciprocate his affection for her. Encouraged by Laure's noble and generous personality as portrayed by Le Chevalier, Mélite pays Laure a visit (Act II) and, without revealing her identity, asks Laure by what artifices she charms all men and by what means she (Mélite) could regain the affection of her husband. With Laure's good advice, that a

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[46] *Anecdotes dramatiques*, Paris, 1775, Vol. II, p. 12.
[47] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 204–5.

woman must make an effort to keep her husband's interest by variety in dresses, pleasant conversation, entertainment and even coquetry, Mélite returns to her home and in Act III proves that she has benefited by Laure's lesson which she uses to good advantage to regain her husband's affection, and Saint-Fard promises to remain her faithful and tender lover.

Besides extending the content of the seven scenes of the first act, the adapter increased the number of scenes to thirteen, using the first four scenes to introduce a new exposition in which Aquilino (Le Chevalier) accuses Luciano (Saint-Fard) of having introduced Aquilino's rival to Clara (Laure) who has become indifferent to Aquilino's affection. The exposition of the French play is simple: in the first scene we learn of Mélite's unhappiness and of Saint-Fard's escapades through a dialogue between two servants. At the beginning of the play Mélite and Le Chevalier already know of Saint-Fard's relations with Laure, but in the adaptation Aquilino does not learn that Luciano is his rival and Inés (Mélite) does not know that her rival is Clara until the twelfth scene. Hartzenbusch also made a radical change in adapting the character of Saint-Fard, who is simply indifferent in the French play; but Luciano is nothing short of brutal in his scornful attitude toward his wife's complaints. Three scenes are used to paint Luciano's disdainful character which the adapter emphasizes and he succeeds in making us despise the unfaithful husband; from this we conjecture that Hartzenbusch had a moral purpose in mind. The other six scenes correspond to the last six scenes of the French play. At the end of the act Inés leaves for Clara's house where the second act is no doubt to take place.

It is probable also that "La nouvelle École des femmes" suggested the subject of Bretón's "La escuela de las casadas" (1842), a four-act comedy in verse, in which an affectionate and modest wife, although abandoned by her husband, rejects the affection of an unscrupulous suitor, and later listens to the advice of a friend who tells her to acquire the talent to please, the secret of which is variety in personal appearance and conversation, accompanied by coquetry; when the husband sees her again, he is so agreeably surprised by her newly acquired charms

and grace that he begs her forgiveness. But she is not ready to forgive him, in appearance; from the middle of the third act to the end of the play she keeps him in suspense and thereby teaches him a much needed lesson. Bretón's intention was to take delinquent husbands to task rather than to school wives in the art of keeping the interest of their consorts. It is a comedy with a serious moral purpose, more didactic than entertaining, as was to be, perhaps, the character of Hartzenbusch's adaptation.

XXII. María Delorme

Hartzenbusch translated the second act (La Rencontre) of Victor Hugo's "Marion de Lorme," with the title of "El encuentro," published by Eugenio Hartzenbusch in 1900.[48] "Marion de Lorme," a romantic drama in five acts and verse, with anti-Royalist tendencies, was written in 1829, but was prohibited by Charles X because of its revolutionary tone and certain allusions to Louis XIII; it was finally performed in August, 1831.

It is sufficient to give a brief outline of the famous second act of this well-known drama: The scene is in Blois, in 1638, in front of a tavern, where a few officers laugh, and speak of current events; later they join in a dispute between Villac and Montpesat, who appear on the scene arguing about the merits of Corneille and his plays. Then, a town-crier reads an edict signed by Richelieu to the effect that thereafter all duelists will be punished by hanging. Among those who appear on the stage is Saverney, who is looking for the man who saved his life (Act I); it is Didier, who loves Marion de Lorme, but thinking that Marion favors Saverney, Didier challenges him to a duel. They fight under a street lamp; Marion's screams attract the police; Saverney feigns death and escapes but Didier is arrested.

Hartzenbusch divides the first scene into three parts thus increasing the number of scenes of "La Rencontre" from five to seven. The second scene of the adaptation begins with the appearance of Villac and Montpesat; in this part the translator omitted all the names of authors and titles of plays of seven-

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[48] *Op. cit.*, pp. 139–158.

teenth-century France, keeping only the references to Corneille and "Le Cid," the only author and title, mentioned by Hugo, familiar to a nineteenth-century Spanish audience, thereby reducing this scene from forty-four Alexandrine verses to thirty-three 'versos de romance'. The third scene of "El encuentro" begins with the arrival of the town-crier. Didier is renamed Alfredo, but the names of the other personages are the same. The rest of the translation corresponds speech for speech, with few exceptions, to the act of the French play. Hartzenbusch transforms Hugo's beautiful Alexandrine verses into 'versos de romance' and 'silvas'. The 'silvas' are used in the fifth scene, the fatal scene of the duel, and the sixth, the scene of Alfredo's arrest, two scenes with a tragic atmosphere and tragic consequences, the use of hendecasyllabic verses in tragic situations is in accordance with Hartzenbusch's customary practice.

Bretón de los Herreros also translated parts of Hugo's drama[49] and it is possible that Hartzenbusch was collaborating with him, or, perhaps, with other dramatists, on an adaptation of the whole play. However, "El encuentro" has enough unity to be performed as a one-act play and, according to Eugenio Hartzenbusch,[50] it was presented in the provinces, probably before the first performance of "Los amantes de Teruel."

Other adaptations from the French ascribed to Hartzenbusch

In his oft mentioned "Bibliografía," Eugenio Hartzenbusch mentions a number of translations ascribed to his father by his biographers or on the basis of lists found among the dramatist's papers. If these were actually the work of Hartzenbusch, the manuscripts have been lost. Some of these titles may merely represent plays which were planned, but never carried out. These alleged translations are discussed below.

I. El español y la francesa

This is the first play mentioned in the "Bibliografía" by

[49] Three scenes of Act III, and Act V, listed in the catalogue of his works, *op. cit.*; the translation is in verse. I have been unable to locate the autograph manuscript which was in the possession of Bretón's heirs.

[50] *Op. cit.*

Eugenio Hartzenbusch who states that his father translated it from the French in 1823 with the aid of his friend, Don Juan González Acevedo, and that it was performed privately in María Hartzenbusch's private theatre. He states, furthermore, that the play was not included in the list drawn up by his father, nor in the Catalogue of Fernández-Guerra.

We do not know the source of Eugenio Hartzenbusch's statement regarding this translation, but in the absence of other evidence, we feel justified in doubting the accuracy of the statement. We must remember that Hartzenbusch was only seventeen when the play was said to be performed. Furthermore, a play with the same title by Felix Enciso Castrillón was published in 1816, and proved fairly popular since it was performed many times between 1806 and 1846. Possibly Hartzenbusch found it suitable for an amateur performance, and made certain changes to adapt it to the group of friends and relatives that played at María Hartzenbusch's theatre. There is a copy of "El español y la francesa" at the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid,[51] but there is nothing in the play to indicate that it is a translation. Probably Eugenio Hartzenbusch was mistaken in this statement, as well as with regard to his father's authorship.

II. La escocesa

We have no information regarding this play except the mere statement of Eugenio Hartzenbusch that it was a translation of Voltaire's "L'Écossaise" (1760), in five acts and in prose. Cotarelo y Mori[52] mentions two eighteenth-century translations of the French comedy, both entitled "La escocesa," one by Tomás de Iriarte, in prose and published in 1769, and the other by Ramón de la Cruz, in verse and represented in 1771. Ramón de la Cruz's adaptation was published twice, anonymously and undated, in Barcelona, about 1790.

III. El casamiento por fuerza

Fernández-Guerra attributed this play to Hartzenbusch,

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[51] There are also three actors' copies in the same library with the same text as the printed edition.

[52] Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *D. Ramón de la Cruz y sus obras*, Madrid, 1899, pp. 107–08, 248 and 265.

declaring that it was a translation of Molière's "Le Mariage forcé." We have no other information concerning it. In the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid there is a manuscript adaptation of Molière's play with the title "El casamiento por fuerza," with the censorship date of October 17th, 1795, which must be Santos Díez González's adaptation mentioned by Cotarelo y Mori,[53] who also mentions a translation of the French play by Ramón de la Cruz, a 'sainete' entitled "El casado por fuerza" (1767), and another play, "El casamiento por violencia," in three acts, of Antonio Robles, represented in 1785. Cotarelo y Mori has not seen this play but has no doubt that it is an amplified translation of Molière's comedy.

IV. La fe de bautismo

This play was also ascribed to Hartzenbusch by Fernández-Guerra, and Eugenio Hartzenbusch adds[54] that it was probably a translation of Picard's "L'Acte de naissance." Possibly this play ascribed to Hartzenbusch was in reality the play of Bretón with the same title, performed at the Teatro de la Cruz on February 3d, 1834, and likewise a translation of Picard's play. Bretón's translation was printed in 1853.

V. El tambor nocturno

Eugenio Hartzenbusch[55] also lists this play among his father's works with the statement that it is a translation of "Le Tambour nocturne" (1762) by Destouches, and was written in collaboration with González Acevedo, probably before the year 1829. Nothing further is known of this translation. In the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid there is a manuscript translation of "Le Tambour nocturne" dated 1779, and it is likely that Ramón de la Cruz made use of this French play in his 'zarzuela' entitled "El tambor nocturno," the manuscript of which, dated, 1776, is in the Biblioteca Municipal. It will be recalled that Destouches's comedy is based upon Addison's "The Drummer."

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[53] Cotarelo y Mori, *Los traductores castellanos de Molière* in *Estudios de historia literaria de España*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 308–310.
[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 137.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

VI. Antoni

This play is mentioned only by title in Eugenio Hartzenbusch's "Bibliografía." If it was a translation of a French play, one naturally thinks of "Antony" by Dumas *père* which was translated by Eugenio de Ochoa and which appeared on the stage of Madrid on June 20th, 1836. We have no further information regarding Hartzenbusch's play.

VII. Edipo

Ochoa ascribes this play to Hartzenbusch with the statement that it is an adaptation of Voltaire's "Œdipe" with additions from Sophocles and Seneca. We have no knowledge of Hartzenbusch's translation. Besides Martínez de la Rosa's original tragedy, "Edipo," there is a translation of Voltaire's tragedy, "Edipo," in five acts and verse, by D. F. L., published in Barcelona in 1842 by Manuel Saurí.

The following titles listed in the "Bibliografía" probably refer to plays that have already been discussed. "Vitimiro" was another name for "Floresinda," and "Doña Leonor de Cabrera" was the first title of the play later known as "Floresinda." "El viaje interrumpido" is the same play as "El novio de Buitrago." "La casa en rifa" was a translation of Picard's "La Maison en loterie" and was later incorporated in "Una onza a terno seco," which will be discussed later. "El papamoscas" and "Llegar tarde" are probably alternate titles for "Don Junípero Bausán."

For the following plays I have nothing to add to the statements made by Eugenio Hartzenbusch:

"Nanina," a translation of Voltaire's "Nanine."

"El hijo pródigo," a five-act comedy in prose, translated from Voltaire's "L'Enfant prodigue," performed at María Hartzenbusch's theatre.

"Las plebeyas a la moda," probably a translation of Dancourt's "Les Bourgeoises à la mode," according to Fernández-Guerra.

"La gresca del retrato, o las aparencias," in one act and verse, an imitation of Molière's "Le Cocu imaginaire," according to Eugenio Hartzenbusch, who says that it was privately performed.

Fernández-Guerra also lists a translation of Picard's "Le Collatéral" and a version of Regnard's "Attendez-moi sous l'orme."

The following titles of plays without accompanying explanation were also found among the dramatist's papers: "La papalina," "La curiosa," "El galán invisible," "Quien todo lo quiere todo lo pierde," "El duende y el adivino," "Trabajar para otro" and "La tía y los herederos." We have no knowledge whether or not these were projected plays.

In summing up Hartzenbusch's characteristics as an adapter of French plays, it is interesting to note that his method was also that of his contemporaries. Like them he usually transferred the scene of action to Spain, renaming the personages, and gave the adaptation a Spanish atmosphere, suppressing anything that did not harmonize with the character of Spaniards and the habits, morals and manners of Spanish society. But not always inspired by the plays he selected, he did not always absorb what he copied, unlike Bretón de los Herreros and Ventura de la Vega, for instance, whose translations and adaptations have the distinguishing characteristics of their original compositions. We are justified in assuming that, in general, the plays Hartzenbusch translated for adaptation do not indicate his literary tastes, but that he was swayed by the tastes of managers and audiences. To this lack of inspiration we may attribute the mediocrity of several of his translations, but Hartzenbusch's judgment was also at fault in selecting some of the plays he thought would interest contemporary audiences; this is undoubtedly the case with "Floresinda" and "Olindo y Sofronia," the subjects of which inspired him and which, in my opinion, are better than the original compositions and deserved to be performed; "Floresinda," as we know, was refused because the time for classical tragedies had passed, and this was probably the case with such melodramas as "Olindo y Sofronia."

Then, too, concerning his original plays, Hartzenbusch found his greatest inspiration in history and historical legends, themes with much scope for the expression of great sentiments and noble emotions. Some of his romantic dramas, therefore, are masterpieces which give him a place among the best dramatists of his century, but in comedy he was unable to elevate himself above the complicated plot of the comedy of intrigue, with the exception of "Juan de las Viñas." This is just as true in regard to his translations; in the two plays referred to above he improves upon the original because he is inspired by the nature of the subject, but, with only two exceptions, "Los polvos de la madre Celestina" and "El abuelito," his adapted comedies are inferior to the original plays. "Jugar por tabla" was successful, but the translation is not as good as Augier's "Gabrielle."

We cannot say that there was a dearth of French plays suitable for adaptation to the Spanish stage, for during Hartzenbusch's dramatic career scores and scores of translations were represented with success in the theatres of the Spanish capital. For instance, between 1827 and 1837, the period of our poet's apprenticeship, forty-five of Bretón's translations from the French were applauded in Madrid; these were plays of all sorts, from classical comedies to nineteenth-century melodramas. During that time only two of Hartzenbusch's translations were performed in public: "El regreso inesperado," apparently successful, was performed only seven times, and "El tutor," represented only twice. After 1837 he used better judgment, but we conjecture that some of his adaptations reached the stage only because of his name. In certain cases he failed to appreciate the delicacy or the dramatic importance of some of the situations he changed or omitted, thereby lessening the dramatic effect which the French dramatist had meant to produce, for example, in "El barbero de Sevilla" and "Ernesto."

However, his adaptations are usually better constructed than the French plays he adapted; mechanically and technically they are more perfect; he omits speeches, situations, scenes, personages, discussions, digressions and even the lively little couplets of the 'comédie-vaudeville', in short, everything which, in his opinion, retarded the development of the plot. His object was

to produce plays with a well-constructed intrigue in which there is action and movement from beginning to end. In this he almost invariably succeeds, but in doing so he does not take the time to give the subject a proper setting and to sketch sympathetic portraits of his personages: his Ernesto and his Prodigal Father are less human than they are in the French plays, because he paints only one side of their character; he makes the one a scheming Don Juan and the other a mere spendthrift; he gives them just enough relief to use them in the mechanism of his plot, failing to place them in their proper social sphere and, consequently, they are not interesting as characters. For this reason, plays which depend solely upon the intrigue and situations, are usually better adapted by Hartzenbusch than those which depend upon character drawing.

For the sake of propriety he changes the status of the personages if their types are not found in Spanish life, sometimes even when he keeps the scene of action in France, such as in "Ernesto" and "El padre pródigo." In "El regreso inesperado," for example, he makes Teresa a widow because the Lucile of Regnard's play is entirely too free and experienced for an unmarried young woman. He invariably reduces the rôles of servants and sometimes eliminates them. The garrulous French valets and soubrettes, with their freedom of thought and speech, their readiness to give advice, become commonplace 'criados' in Hartzenbusch's adaptations. It is true that the servants of French comedies would have jarred upon the susceptibilities of Spanish audiences, but Hartzenbusch substitutes nothing for their garrulity, their laughter, their expressions of joy and sorrow, their squabbles and tête-à-têtes, and the consequent atmosphere of gayety and humor so necessary to a comedy. His most meritorious characteristic is that he is exceedingly moral, and he consciously omits or changes anything likely to suggest indecency and a lack of respect for social conventions, such as Angèle's prayer at the end of the first act of Dumas's play.

CHAPTER III

Original Plays Influenced by French Drama

I. La redoma encantada

Juan Grimaldi's "La pata de cabra" (1829) was not the earliest comedy of magic of the Spanish theatre, but its enormous popularity brought plays of this type into fashion. This was an adaptation of "Pied de mouton," a 'féerie' by Ribié and Martainville, first played at the Théâtre de la Gaieté in 1806, which proved so popular at Paris that it is said to have had over eleven hundred performances by the year 1874. It was translated into Spanish as early as 1816 with the title "Pata de carnero," but Spanish audiences were not ready for such spectacles, and the Spanish version was buried in the archives of the Teatro de la Cruz.[1]

Grimaldi's adaptation, first performed at the Teatro del Príncipe on February 18th, 1829, with the title "Todo lo vence amor o la pata de cabra," immediately attracted full houses, and its continued popularity encouraged other dramatists to seek large financial rewards by catering to the public taste for comedies of magic.

Hartzenbusch's first attempt in this new field, "La redoma encantada," almost attained the popularity of "La pata de cabra." Written in four acts, prose and verse, it was published in 1839, and was performed in the Teatro del Príncipe on October 26th of that year. In the first year it enjoyed an unusually long run of 34 performances, and continued to hold the stage, for it was performed 18 times in 1840, 21 times in 1842, 27 in 1847, 5 in 1848, 23 in 1856 and 11 in 1857. A revision by the author in 1862 gave it a new lease on life with 36 performances, and other representations followed, including a run of 74 performances in 1875, making in all a total of 292 during the author's lifetime, only a few less than are recorded for "Los polvos de la madre

[1] *Todo lo vence amor o la pata de cabra*, Madrid, 1889, Fifth Edition, preface.

Celestina," which seems to have been less popular in provincial cities.

The play seems to have met with the enthusiastic approval of the critics as well as of its audiences. Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto wrote in his review of the dramatic season of 1839–40:

"Entre todas las producciones citadas, la comedia de magia titulada 'La redoma encantada' es la que ha logrado el éxito más brillante y sostenido, éxito colosal, atendidas las circunstancias, y de que no había ejemplo alguno después de la representación de la célebre 'Pata de cabra'."[2]

Another critic spoke of it as "la mejor comedia de magia de nuestro repertorio"[3] while Zorrilla, referring to the year 1839, observes that it was "la gallina de los huevos de oro"[4] of the Teatro de la Cruz.[5]

"La redoma encantada" has in common with other plays of the same class, an involved, fantastic plot that depends chiefly upon the element of surprise and elaborate stage machinery for its effects. The young Garabito returns to Madrid after a brief absence only to find that his sweetheart, Pascuala, has married Laín, her landlord and majordomo of the Count de la Viznaga. When discovered prowling about the house, he takes refuge in the garret of an old sorceress, is transformed into a winged old woman, and accompanied by witches he flies to Barahona where he finds in a cave an enchanted phial that contains the remains of Enrique de Aragón, the fifteenth-century scholar upon whom popular tradition has conferred the name of magician. Enrique is released from his prison, gratefully promises his help, and when he learns by his occult power that a beautiful girl named Dorotea is to be the victim of a trumped-up marriage with the Count, Enrique determines to save her by marrying her himself!

By means of a magic ring, Garabito assumes the form and features of Laín, his rival, and the inevitable confusion results

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[2] *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1840, p. 127.
[3] Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, *Siglo Pintoresco*, January, 1847.
[4] *El Imparcial*, May 17, 1880.
[5] This must be an error as *La redoma encantada* was performed at the Teatro del Príncipe in 1839.

when he meets the latter, not to speak of his amusing encounter with Pascuala. In the meantime, Enrique, in spite of the disparity of their ages, with the aid of his disguise has legally married Dorotea, and accompanied by Garabito, and the respective brides, they make their escape to Portugal with their outwitted rivals in hot pursuit. The relentless Count blows up the castle where they have found refuge, strips Enrique of his magic power and condemns him, together with Dorotea, to life imprisonment unless they can discover three magic lines written upon the walls of their subterranean prison. Garabito effects his entrance into the cave, discovers the lines and Enrique is then enabled to transform the cave into a castle. Dorotea has become aware of her husband's identity, and Enrique renounces his necromancy since he no longer needs it to retain Dorotea's love.

The background of the play is furnished, of course, by the legendary figure of Enrique de Villena, which was calculated to arouse popular interest, but Hartzenbusch made no use of the seventeenth-century plays in which this bizarre personage appears. He tells us with his customary frankness in the foreword to the 1839 edition that the principal scenes of the comedy were furnished by the "'Anfitrion' de Molière, 'La piel de asno' y un cuento de Madama Beaumont."

The influence of Molière's comedy is readily seen in the impersonations of Laín by Garabito and the Count by Enrique in the second act which at once recalls the ruse by which Jupiter gains access to Amphitrion's house and Alcmène's bed; the setting is the same and there are even cases of direct translation. In addition to this, the "Amphitrion" supplied many suggestions for situations and theatrical effects in the last three acts of the Spanish play.

More limited was his use of Vanderbuch and Laurencin's "Peau d'Ane" (1838), a comedy of magic based on Perrault's well-known story. The resemblances consist of a few tricks of magic, notably the cave scene (Act IV, ix) which is based upon the fourth tableau in the second scene of the second act of "Peau d'Ane." In general the borrowings were limited to mechanical effects, for which, on Hartzenbusch's own statement, his collaborator, Francisco Lucini, was responsible.

The fairy story of Madame le Prince de Beaumont is entitled "Les trois Souhaits"[6] and suggested merely the fulfillment of Garabito's three wishes in the seventh scene of the second act, which adds an amusing incident to the play.

In spite of Hartzenbusch's statement in his foreword that his imitations were limited to the aforementioned, there is reason to believe that he borrowed a few scenes from the French 'féerie' entitled "Les Pilules du diable" which had recently been performed in Paris. "La Esperanza" for July 28th, 1839, announced that Hartzenbusch was preparing a comedy of magic entitled "La resurrección del Marqués de Villena," which was probably the first title of the comedy under discussion. The French 'féerie' must have fallen into his hands at about that time, and it is interesting to note that the situations borrowed from "Les Pilules du diable" do not reappear in his adaptation of that play, namely, "Los polvos de la madre Celestina." The most striking of these similarities is the scene in which Garabito, after a severe storm, comes down the chimney in sections, and is later pieced together. In "Les Pilules du diable," Seringuinos is similarly put together after a train explosion.

Prose and verse are almost evenly divided in this play; as in his other comedies of magic, the predominant verse form is the 'redondilla' which is employed in lyrical passages; the other metres are the 'verso de romance', the 'silva', a few 'quintillas' and the short six-syllable 'romance'.

Hartzenbusch made a thorough revision of his comedy in 1862, effecting many improvements in situation in order to satisfy public taste, and the producers also made so many changes in the mechanical effects that a critic[7] wrote on June 7th, 1875:

"Si el insigne autor de 'La redoma encantada' ha asistido a la representación de su comedia en el Teatro del Circo. . . habrá visto con sorpresa las brillantes transformaciones que andando los tiempos han venido a modificar el genio de su composición, merced al ostentoso orientalismo que ha invadido

[6] Published in *Le Magasin des enfants* (1757) which was translated into Spanish by J. M. Girón in 1782 with the title *La devoción ilustrada.*

[7] Peregrín García Cadena, *El Imparcial.*

nuestra escena. . .en una palabra, aquel predominio continuo de los costosos y entretenidos accesorios que interrumpen y ahogan con frecuencia el diálogo sabroso y castizo del poema. . ."

The great success of "La redoma encantada" definitely established the vogue of the comedy of magic. "La pluma prodigiosa" of Bretón de los Herreros attained great popularity in 1841; the anonymous "Embajador y hechicero" enjoyed a continuous run of 26 performances in 1847 and "La palma azul" had 34 consecutive performances in 1865.

II. El bachiller Mendarias

"El bachiller Mendarias, o los tres huérfanos," in four acts and in verse, is a romantic drama with melodramatic elements. It was first announced as "El bachiller Mendarias, o los tres Juanes," and was only represented four times, from October 14th to 17th, 1842, in the Teatro del Príncipe, as benefit performances for the actress Matilde Díez. An uninteresting subject could not be redeemed by well-written verse, but in many respects the play is not unworthy of the author of "Los amantes de Teruel" and after its first printing in 1842 it was included in two editions of the "Colección de los mejores autores españoles"[8] and later in the "Colección de escritores castellanos."[9]

The scene of the play is laid at Soria in the year 1388, during the reign of King Peter the First. The plot is a complicated one and turns on the identity of three orphans, whose origins are a mystery, and the rivalry of two of these, Juan and Mendarias, for the third, a young girl named Elvira. After countless vicissitudes proof is adduced that Mendarias is none other than Don Juan de Castilla, an illegitimate son of Don Pedro, King of Castile, whom the latter had ordered should be placed in custody in the castle of Soria, but by the familiar dramatic substitution of two children, Mendarias had grown up in liberty while another replaced him. Juan is disposed of as a result of an altercation with Mendarias, the sentence of imprisonment against the

[8] 1850 and 1876.
[9] 1887–92.

latter still stands, and Elvira, with the spirit of self-sacrifice that should animate all fair heroines, does not hesitate to share his fate and his love.

In a note appended to the 1842 edition of "Honoria," Hartzenbusch gives us a clue as to a possible source for a part of "El bachiller Mendarias":

"En cuanto al trueque de ambas huérfanas (medio comunísimo sin ir a copiarlo de 'La Recherche d'un père'), hay que prevenir que cuando se empezó a escribir este drama, el autor creía que no debería representarse 'El bachiller Mendarias'."

The play to which he refers, "Japhet, ou la Recherche d'un père" (1840), a two-act prose comedy by Scribe and Vanderbuch, likewise turns upon the identity of three orphans. The London setting is, of course, completely different from that of the Spanish play, but Japhet, Timothée and Esther closely correspond to Juan, Mendarias and Elvira, and the circumstances that lead to their identification are substantially the same. Hartzenbusch was fully aware that many predecessors had utilized the dramatic possibilities of a similar situation, but there seems no question that he derived a portion of his plot from the French play.

III. Honoria

No better fortune attended the composition of "Honoria," a melodrama first published in 1842 and acted from May 6–10 of the following year. Public and critics alike expressed disapproval of the play. The critic of the "Revista de Teatros" of May 23d, 1843, remarked:

"Se puso en escena una producción del señor Hartzenbusch más propia para leída que para representada; titúlase 'Honoria' y la daña sin duda lo extenso de su plan, y la falta de armonía. . .; pero hay en la 'Honoria' situaciones y pensamientos que revelan bien la célebre pluma que dió vida a 'Los amantes de Teruel'."

A little later, a critic of the "Semanario Pintoresco Español"[10]

[10] June 11, 1843.

deplored the fact that so good a dramatist as Hartzenbusch should have attempted melodrama, which is usually reserved for mediocre writers:

"Hay empresas tales en que fracasa el mayor talento, y de ello nos alegramos, porque nada duele tanto como ver una mala causa sostenida con genio."

After criticizing the play unfavorably, he says that the public had shown good judgment in receiving the play coldly, and adds that the author would accomplish more by returning to the comedy of magic.

The setting of the action is Segovia and its vicinity in the year 1468, and the plot, which exceeds all bounds of probability, is again based upon the identity of orphans of mysterious origin, two young girls this time, the virtuous Honoria and the envious, unscrupulous Desideria. The former loves young Jimén for himself, the latter loves him for his money, and Jimén, swayed hither and thither by conflicting evidence of identity, marries both young women in the course of the play. The incredible dénouement by which Jimén is obliged to renounce Desideria and then marries Honoria is explained by one of the critics[11] as based upon the invalidity of marriages between cousins in the reign of Enrique IV, but the reader is not so readily convinced of the propriety of this solution of the difficulty.

In view of the evidence of Hartzenbusch's acquaintance with "Japhet, ou la Recherche d'un père," it is fair to assume that the incidents arising from the attempt to establish the identity of these girls, which strikingly resemble similar incidents in that play, are derived, perhaps unconsciously, from it. The device by which the vows pronounced by Honoria are declared void is borrowed, according to the author's own statement, from Moreto's "En el mayor imposible nadie pierda la esperanza." The incident of the sleeping potion by means of which Honoria is enabled to effect her escape from the convent is derived from a somewhat similar scene in "Romeo and Juliet," which the author mentions as one of his sources.

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[11] *Diario de Madrid*, May 6, 1843.

IV. La coja y el encogido

This ingenious comedy of intrigue, in three acts and in prose, was published in 1843 and later appeared in the collections of 1850 and 1876. First performed in the Teatro de la Cruz from June 16th to 23d, 1843, it was presented again on August 10th, twice in 1844, three times in 1846 and twice in 1848. It is difficult to gauge the success of the play from the newspaper criticisms of the time. A writer in the "Revista de Teatros" of August 15th, 1843, declared quite bluntly:

"Se ha representado en la Cruz la comedia original en tres actos, 'La coja y el encogido' que en nuestro concepto es la peor que su autor ha escrito,"

but a critic a few years later referred to it as a

"comedia muy aplaudida en los teatros de la Corte y en los de las provincias,"[12]

in spite of the fact that it was received with hisses in Madrid a few nights before. The edition of 1850 shows a number of minor changes which did not save the play from burial

According to the will of Gabriel Gabray, Adela, his niece by marriage, must marry one of his relatives within one year in order to inherit his fortune, and no other relative is known to her except Rufino, who will receive the legacy if she fails to comply with the terms. There is no time to lose, for when the curtain rises only twenty-four hours remain until the expiration of the time limit, but neither Adela nor Rufino wishes to marry the other, yet neither desires to sacrifice the legacy. Adela pretends to be lame (i.e. 'la coja') in an effort to make herself less attractive, and Rufino tells the bashful Fabián (i.e. 'el encogido') that Adela is mad about him, in the hope that Adela will really fall in love with him, and arranges a rendezvous for them. But Rufino planned better than he knew, for after Adela promises to marry Fabián, thus disinheriting herself, it is learned that Fabián is a relative of Gabray, so that the lady wins a husband of her choice and the legacy to boot.

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[12] *La Luneta*, April 30, 1848.

In a footnote, Hartzenbusch states that the play contains various imitations, the most important of which are "Le Rendez-vous" of Fagan, and an English comedy "traducida a nuestro idioma en el año de 1801 con el título de 'La prueba caprichosa'." Adela's pretense of lameness in order to test Rufino was suggested by the latter comedy in which a colonel feigns the loss of an eye and the use of a leg in battle in order to determine the sincerity of his fiancée's love for him. I have been unable to discover the English original, which in turn is based upon one of Marmontel's "Contes Moraux"[13] (1761) with the title "Le Scrupule," but it appears to have enjoyed great popularity at Paris in a French translation entitled "Il est possédé" (1765)[14] made by Mme. Riccoboni. Another French translation entitled "A quoi cela tient" was published anonymously at Paris in 1807. The Spanish translation to which Hartzenbusch referred is a translation of Mme. Riccoboni's play by a certain Francisco de Paula Naranjo, and must have attained some degree of popularity since it was performed as late as 1831, thirty years after its publication, in the Teatro de la Cruz of Madrid.

The other source specifically mentioned by Hartzenbusch is Christophe Bartélemi Fagan's one-act verse comedy entitled "Le Rendez-vous ou l'amour supposé" (1733) which suggested the scene in which Fabián and Adela fall in love with one another as a result of a meeting concocted by Rufino. The motives of the servants who arrange the interview in the French play are quite different from those of Rufino, but this scene closely corresponds in the two comedies in its portrayal of the transformation of dissembled interest into real love in the hearts of the young man and woman. The terms of the will of Hartzenbusch's play remind one of the terms in Marivaux's "Le Legs," which may be one of the various imitations mentioned in the footnote.

V. Las Batuecas

Hartzenbusch's third and last comedy of magic, "Las Batuecas" (1843), was a complete failure, and had only nine perform-

[13] F. Gaiffe, *Le drame en France au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1910, pp. 59–60.
[14] Published in *Recueils de pièces détachées*, Paris, 1765.

ances. The only critic who mentioned the play, so far as I know, cautioned the author against wasting his brilliant dramatic gifts on works of this type,[15] and in this opinion we concur. Like "La redoma encantada" this play is written in a combination of half prose and half verse, with the 'redondilla' as the predominant metre.

Mateo and Lucia, servants in the household of the Duke of Alba, make their escape from their master's house when the Duke refuses to consent to their marriage, and seek refuge in the wild, hilly district known as Las Batuecas, which is inhabited by primitive people cut off from contact with the outside world. A drink at the Fountain of Truth forces them to confess the real motives for their flight: Lucia hopes to find her brother who was stolen in childhood by a witch, while Mateo is in quest of knowledge. They are soon confronted by three magicians of Las Batuecas, and are required to choose their guides. Lucia selects Virtelio, symbol of virtue, and Mateo picks out Sofronio, who symbolizes knowledge. Fortunio, the symbol of Fortune, is angered at the lack of interest shown in him, and transforms Mateo's donkey into a man, whom he names Paulino, with the condition that he shall continuously interfere with the progress of his master.

With this introduction to the kingdom of Las Batuecas, one can surmise the preposterous incidents that befall the lovers after their arrival. Paulino, the donkey-man, becomes tutor to Alfonso, the young Prince, and his particular function is to keep him ignorant of the ways of women, no easy task with Lucia in the neighborhood. Lucia has just won the annual prize offered to the most virtuous young woman, and since the King, shortly before his death, has expressed the wish that the Prince should marry the winner of the virtue-contest, there seems no reason why Alfonso should not marry Lucia. But then it is discovered that Alfonso is really Lucia's long-lost brother; Mateo seems to be the next best candidate for her hand, and Paulino, who has not behaved any too well, becomes a jackass again!

The setting of the play, the flight of the lovers, their arrival

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[15] *Revista de Teatros*, October 29, 1843.

in the wilderness of Las Batuecas, and their ultimate union after many vicissitudes was suggested to Hartzenbusch by Lope de Vega's comedy, "Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba," as the author stated in a letter to Antoine de Latour.[16] This play, probably based upon traditions and hearsay with which Lope became acquainted during his sojourn at Alba de Tormes, was not published until 1638, but must have been composed by the year 1608 at the latest, since it is included in the list of plays published in the edition of "El peregrino en su patria" printed in that year. In view of Hartzenbusch's own statement regarding his source, we need not concern ourselves here with the adaptations of this play by Matos Fragoso and Hoz y Mota.

At the end of his comedy, Hartzenbusch added the following note:

"El autor ha tenido presente para esta comedia dos del teatro francés, una antigua y otra moderna, que son 'Timon le misanthrope' de Mr. Delisle, y 'La Volière de Frère Philippe' de Scribe, Mélesville y Delestre-Poirson."

To "La Volière de Frère Philippe" (1818), a one-act 'comédie-vaudeville', Hartzenbusch was indebted for fifteen of the thirty-nine scenes in the last four 'cuadros' of his comedy. Like Alfonso, the young Fernand, son of the Duke d'Hermosa, was reared in complete ignorance of women, but his blissful existence is interrupted by the arrival of Isaure and five other young girls, who at once awaken his curiosity. He is told that they are a species of birds (as in Boccaccio's well-known tale) and he loses no time in catching one of them for his bird collection. The inevitable, of course, happens and the play closes with a promise of wedding bells for Fernand and his captive Blanche.

From "Timon le Misanthrope" (1722), a prose play in three acts by Delisle (Louis François de la Drévetière), Hartzenbusch borrowed the idea of the metamorphosis of a donkey into a man. Here the God Mercure has transformed a donkey into a man and gives him the name of Arlequin, who at first covets wealth, but later by his generosity impresses upon Timon, his former

[16] References in a letter of Antoine de Latour to Georges Sand, published in *La América* of August 13, 1872.

master, the lesson that the noblest part a man can play in life is to be tolerant and helpful toward others. As a matter of fact, Paulino of "Las Batuecas" has little in common with Arlequin except his two-fold personality.

VI. Una onza a terno seco

"Una onza a terno seco, o la fortuna rodando," a two-act verse comedy, is one of the very few plays in which Hartzenbusch was aided by a collaborator. The circumstances which brought about this collaboration are related in the "Revista de Teatros" of January 30th, 1845, as follows:

"En la tarde del sábado 11 del corriente ha tenido lugar en la casa del Sr. Romero Larrañaga, una reunión compuesta de los primeros literatos, profesores de música y periodistas de la corte de diverso matiz político. Su objeto ha sido, el de llevar a cabo la filantrópica idea de dar en uno de los teatros de la corte, una función escogida a beneficio de los desgraciados que gimen en las cárceles por causas políticas. Después de haber manifestado cada cual su opinión respecto del particular, unánimes todos y conformes en que este sublime pensamiento no ha de rozarse para nada con la política, se acordó contando con la fina voluntad de algunas personas que se encontraban en la reunión. 1º. Que los Sres D. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch y D. Tomás Rodríguez Rubí escriban una comedia en dos actos . . ."

The "Diario de Madrid" on June 9th, 1845, announced this comedy as "Una onza a terno seco," and it was probably performed on the following evening. This performance was not repeated, and the play was published only once, in 1845. Hartzenbusch was the author of the first act and Rodríguez Rubí wrote the second.[17] It is interesting to note that only two verse forms are used in this play, the 'redondilla' and the 'romance'.

This little play describes the vicissitudes of a lottery-ticket which passes through many hands, without much attention being paid to it, until it is learned that it bears the winning number, whereupon each former possessor makes frantic efforts to recover it.

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[17] E. Hartzenbusch, *Bibliografía de Hartzenbusch*, Madrid, 1900, p. 62.

In a note the authors state that in composing the comedy they had in mind the following plays, Gellert's "Das Loos in der Lotterie," Picard's "La Maison en loterie," and "La novia de 64 años, o una loteria," a three-act comedy published anonymously in Barcelona in 1829.

Except for the unnecessarily long and complicated exposition, the plot development and dénouement are borrowed from Picard's "La Maison en loterie" (1817), a one-act prose comedy. Here also the action turns upon a lottery-ticket and from this play are borrowed the five leading characters of "Una onza a terno seco." The latter owes very little to the German play, and the same may probably be said of the influence of "La novia de 64 años" which I only know from a résumé of the plot given in "El Correo Literario y Mercantil" of September 27th, 1830, accompanied by a merciless criticism. Practically the only resemblances between these plays and "Una onza a terno seco" consist in the trials and tribulations of the possessors of a lottery-ticket, and these occur in Picard's comedy, which was undoubtedly used by Hartzenbusch and his collaborator.

Fernández-Guerra[18] mentions a translation by Hartzenbusch of "La Maison en loterie" with the title "La casa en rifa." I have already suggested[19] that this translation may have been incorporated in "Una onza a terno seco," but of this we cannot be sure. So far as I am aware, "La casa en rifa" was first announced by the "Diario de Madrid" of October 25th and 26th, 1851, as a translation from the French by a distinguished writer. It is possible that the translator was Hartzenbusch, but at the same time we wonder why he should have translated in 1851 a play which he himself had utilized in the composition of "Una onza a terno seco." "La casa en rifa" was performed again on September 14th and 15th, 1871, but so far as I know was never published, and it is not even known in manuscript.

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[18] Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, in Catalogue of Hartzenbusch's works in connection with Hartzenbusch's biography, *Obras de D. Juan E. Hartzenbusch*, Madrid, 1887–92, Vol. I.

[19] Chapter II, p. 74.

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